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ABSTRACT

The formation of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) has raised a number of questions about the strategic orientation of teachers in South Africa. These questions are regarded in light of recent political and social changes in the country. Most teacher organizations are reluctant to disband in favor of the new union. The experience and political orientation of "coloured" teachers in Durban (South Africa) were studied. Section I of this report describes methodological considerations and the theoretical framework for the study. Section II deals with the analysis and interpretation of the findings. Subjects were 81 teachers in 11 schools. In the Durban area, colored teachers as a whole do not have a tradition of resistance to apartheid, but they cannot be separated from their sociopolitical context. Most colored teachers in Durban have been teaching a relatively short time, reflecting the new growth in education in their community. Many of the respondents were satisfied with many aspects of their work, but many expressed dissatisfaction with other aspects that appear to erode teacher autonomy over their work, bringing the work of teachers closer to that of the working class, and making the teachers less representative of the middle class. Findings also show a link between respondents' dissatisfaction and their attitudes toward the education department. Findings further suggest that individual colored teachers in Durban are engaged in individual strategies to acquire upward mobility. In Durban, these teachers are subjected to a number of social and political conflicts that pull them in different directions. There is, however, an objective basis for these teachers to be included in the establishment of a national democracy in South Africa. The teacher survey and a memorandum from the local teachers' organization are included. (Contains 12 tables and 27 references.) (SLD)

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Education Projects Unit

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Bobby Soobrayan

1992

University of Natal
Durban

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Teachers and politics: A study of coloured teachers in the Greater Durban area

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INTRODUCTION

The formation of the non-racial South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) has raised a number of important questions in relation to the strategic orientation[1] of teachers in South Africa. These questions are being posed within the context of a broader question: which strategies and what forms of organisation are most appropriate to bring teachers within the broad movement for social transformation in South Africa. The history of apartheid in general, and of apartheid education in particular, makes the debate more complex because of the fragmentation of teachers along racial lines and, hence, the fragmentation of their immediate socio-political contexts. Most of the traditional teacher organisations continue to express a reluctance to disband in favour of SADTU, opting instead for a federal model which will allow them to retain their autonomy.

Although some academic analyses which have relevance to the debate have been produced (Hyslop, 1986, 1987a, 1987b; Morrell, 1988; and Walker, 1989), there is still a drastic shortage of empirical investigation into the experience and orientation of teachers. This weakness is magnified in the case of coloured teachers in Natal because, to date, no empirical or theoretical work has been done which focuses specifically on this group of teachers. A central contention of this study is that appropriate strategies and forms of teacher organisation are heavily contingent upon a thorough understanding of the political orientation and aspirations of teachers. The purpose of this study is to attempt to make some contribution to developing this understanding, and in this way to inform some aspects of the debate on the strategic orientation of teachers in South Africa.

Section I of this report provides a brief description of the methodological considerations, which are followed by an outline of the theoretical framework for the investigation. Section II deals with the analysis and interpretation of the findings which are presented under the following headings:

1. Profile of the sample.
2. Respondents' perceptions of their work as teachers.
3. Different ways in which respondents try to advance their interests.
4. Political orientation.

The discussion under each of the headings in Section II is rounded off with concluding remarks and a general conclusion is presented at the end of the report.

[1] That is, in terms of its orientation to the working class and the bourgeoisie in modern capitalist societies.

SECTION I
METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1.1 AIM AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

In the absence of any systematic study which focuses specifically on coloured teachers in Durban, this study will serve primarily as a pilot study aimed at identifying significant trends and questions that will necessarily have to be subjected to further investigation and analysis.

Our central focus is the exploration of the political orientation and aspirations of coloured teachers who are employed by the Department of Education and Culture of the House of Representatives (hereafter HOR) in the Greater Durban Area (hereafter GDA). The objectives of the study are as follows:

a) to assess teacher attitudes to their work process.
b) to assess various ways in which teachers try to advance their interests.
c) to assess the political orientation of teachers vis-a-vis the dominant political groupings operating within the South African political context.

This research assumes a specific importance and relevance in view of the most recent political developments in the country precipitated by the unbanning of organisations in the liberation movement and the beginning of a process of negotiating a new political future for South Africa. The rapidly shifting political terrain and the already emergent exigencies of educational transformation has created a greater urgency for the conceptualisation of teacher organisation from a progressive perspective. The main purpose of this study is to make a contribution to the debate on conceptualising the role, limits and possibilities of teacher organisation within the current conjuncture.

1.2 SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The study is based almost entirely on information obtained through a structured questionnaire (see Appendix I). To a lesser extent, two additional sources of information were used:

1. Proceedings of a workshop conducted by SONAT to identify teacher grievances (see Appendix II). These proceedings were used as a basis for the construction of the questionnaire as well as in the discussion of the findings.
2. Unstructured interviews with specific individuals from SONAT.

These interviews were mainly used to obtain factual information on certain aspects of coloured education in Durban.

1.3 THE QUESTIONNAIRE[2]

The structured questionnaire included questions around the following themes:

- Satisfaction with teaching.
- Career orientation.
- Attitudes on the role of teachers.
- Attitudes on the current education context.
- Attitudes on teacher organisation.
- Political orientation.

In terms of the specific objectives of this study (as outlined above), only the following themes will be incorporated into the discussion:

- Satisfaction with teaching.
- Career orientation.
- Political orientation.

1.4 DATA COLLECTION

The data collection was done in October 1990. SONAT officials agreed to act as contact persons, to facilitate the distribution and collection of questionnaires in the different schools involved in the study. The questionnaires were hand-delivered by the researcher to the contact persons, who in turn handed them out to the respondents.[3] The respondents agreed to complete the questionnaire in about three days, after which they were collected by the contact person and returned to the researcher.

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[2] The original motivation for this study came from SONAT officials who requested that a study be conducted into the attitudes and aspirations of teachers employed by the House of Representatives. In view of this, the researcher enjoyed strong support from the organisation, and teachers demonstrated a high level of enthusiasm to participate in the study. The opportunity was used to obtain data on a wide variety of themes, even though, for the purpose of this study, given its limited scope and specific focus, only some of these themes will be incorporated into the analysis. The rest of the data will be written up by the researcher for the purpose of presenting the findings to SONAT and other interested organisations.

[3] Respondents were selected, using random numbers, from school staff lists.

In an attempt to minimise the possible bias that may have arisen as a result of SONAT's close relationship with the study, it was decided that respondents should complete the questionnaire in private instead of using the interview method. A fairly high response rate of 92% was achieved which is probably a result of SONAT's involvement in the study and the personal contact and follow-up visits by the researcher to all contact persons, who in turn motivated the respondents to complete the questionnaire.

1.5 THE SAMPLE

A two-stage random sampling technique was used to arrive at the final sample. The first stage involved a random selection of seven primary and four secondary schools out of the total number of seventeen primary and nine secondary schools under the HOR in the greater Durban area. The second stage involved a random selection of eight teachers in each school, identified in stage one, from the school's list of staff members. Table I below gives details of the sample.

TABLE I: SAMPLE

SCHOOL (NUMBER)	AREA	PRIMARY/ SECONDARY	RESPONDENTS
1	Wentworth	primary	8
2	Wentworth	primary	7
3	Marianridge	primary	7
4	Greenwoodpark	primary	8
5	Newlands East	primary	8
6	Sydenham	primary	7
7	Newlands East	secondary	8
8	Marianridge	secondary	5
9	Greenwoodpark	secondary	7
10	Sydenham	secondary	8
11	Wentworth.	secondary	8
			TOTAL 81

A discussion on the profile of the sample appears in the next section since it forms an integral part of the interpretation of the findings.

1.6 DATA ANALYSIS

A content-analysis of all open-ended questions was performed which yielded the categories and sub-categories which were then coded for computer input. In the case of the closed questions, the responses were immediately

coded for computer input. Frequencies and cross tabulations of the data were generated by computer using SPSS+ (statistical software).

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A central assumption in this investigation is that the political aspirations and attitudes of coloured teachers is influenced by their class location and their political context. In view of this, it is important not only to theorise the class location of the sample, but also to identify the major features of their socio-political context.

The theoretical framework for the investigation is therefore presented under two major themes:

1. Theoretical considerations on the class location of teachers in South Africa.
2. A brief overview of some aspects of the Durban coloured community in general and of coloured teachers in particular.

2.1 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CLASS LOCATION OF TEACHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The aim of this section is to situate the study within a theoretical framework based on some major perspectives that have emerged in the literature concerning the class position of teachers and, in particular, the class position of black teachers in South Africa.

This corpus of theory reflects a wide diversity of perspectives which can be traced to the debates in the 1950s within communist, socialist and trade union organizations around the need to formulate an appropriate definition of the working class in modern capitalist societies. Two major imperatives underpinned the need to arrive at a definition of the working class. Firstly, the rise of the 'new middle class' posed new theoretical questions around the political behaviour and orientation of this class towards the dominant classes in capitalist social formations (Poulantzas, 1979). Secondly, the apparent lack of working class revolutionary potential under advanced capitalism spawned debates around the mobilisation of the working class and strategies for socialist transformation. In South Africa, this debate coincided with the rise of Marxist theorising following the 1973 labour strikes and was cast within a broader debate focusing on strategies for transformation and the limits and possibilities for class alliances as espoused by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the African National Congress (ANC) (Nzimande, 1991). Consequently, a major thrust of the debate focused on the relationship between race and class in determining the political orientation of different sectors in the South African political

formation.

As a consequence of the above, the theoretical discourse on class analysis of teachers is also highly polemical[4] and reflects a wide diversity of perspectives. Space constraints do not allow for any detailed discussion of all the major perspectives pertinent to this study. Some of the more notable perspectives which I will unfortunately not be referring to are contained in works by Hunt (1977); Mandel (1978); B and J Ehrenreich (1979); and Harris (1982).

One very instructive perspective in the literature, articulated by Nicos Poulantzas (1973, 1977, 1979), deals with the analysis of teachers as part of the 'new petty bourgeoisie' (hereafter referred to as NPB). For Poulantzas the working class consists only of those who: (a) perform productive labour, that is, produce surplus value; (b) do not carry out supervisory work; and (c) perform manual labour rather than mental labour.

Unlike the traditional petty bourgeoisie, the 'new petty bourgeoisie' do not own the means of production and as wage earners are exploited. However, Poulantzas argues that this exploitation does not take the form characteristic of the exploitation of the working class. For Poulantzas the 'new petty bourgeoisie' should be considered as part of the petty bourgeoisie as a whole because they share the same political and ideological characteristics, which he describes as follows:

> petty bourgeois individualism, attraction to the status quo and fear of revolution; the myth of 'social advancement' and aspirations of bourgeois status; belief in the 'neutral state' above classes; political instability and the tendency to support strong states and bonapartist regimes; revolts taking the form of petty bourgeois jacqueries (1973, 37-38)

Poulantzas' work, particularly his publication entitled Classes in contemporary capitalism, has significant import in conceptualising the social composition of the petty bourgeoisie and its political behaviour. Its major relevance to this study is his demonstration of the "vacillating" nature of this class and his assertion that the political behaviour of this group depends on the nature of the social formation and its conjuncture. It should be noted that Poulantzas' work is cast very much in a polemical mode in response to the positions adopted by the French Communist Party in relation to

[4] Because it mirrors the debates referred to above.

alliances with non-proletarian strata of society.[5]

In an attempt to resolve some of the theoretical difficulties associated with locating categories of the 'new middle class' into particular classes, some perspectives in the literature suggest that these 'intermediate strata' are located 'between classes'. These perspectives take as their starting point the fact that numerous individuals are in the transition between classes at any point in time. This line of thinking applies to work by Carchedi (1980) which was used by Harris (1982) in his analysis of teachers; as well as work by Wright (1979). Once again, for the sake of brevity, I will focus only on the work of Wright.

Erik Olin Wright (1979) provides a different approach to defining the class position of the 'intermediate strata'. Like Carchedi, he locates teachers and other 'semi-autonomous wage earners' in a position 'between' classes, but affords more weight to position in the relations of production in the determination of class position. Wright argues that in contemporary industrialized capitalist social formations two modes of production coexist: the dominant capitalist mode in which the bourgeoisie (who have control over labour and capital) and the working class (who have no control over labour and capital) operate; and the sphere of petty commodity production, within which the petty bourgeoisie operate. In the case of professionals and skilled workers who are self employed, their skills serve as the means of production allowing them to engage in petty commodity production. In addition to the three 'unambiguous' classes mentioned above, Wright argues that there are three categories which do not fall into any of the above classes but occupy positions situated between classes or 'contradictory class locations': managers and supervisors; small employers; and semi-autonomous wage earners (SAWE). The last category is of interest in this study because, in terms of Wright's position, teachers are categorized as SAWE. SAWE, although wage earners, have a considerable degree of control over their own work which is very different from the case of the proletariat. However, their autonomy is being eroded as a result of the process of proletarianisation. They are also different to the petty bourgeoisie in that they do not own the means of production. In support of this view, Hyslop argues thus,

> the contradictory location concept is able to take into account both the proletarian character of the s.a.w.e.'s wage relationship, and the petty bourgeois character of their work, without assimilating them

[5] Poulantzas was reacting to what he considered to be the PFC's theoretical assimilation of non-proletarian strata into the working class. He argued that this would lead to the working class' interests being compromised. (Hyslop, 1987b)

> into either the working class or the petty bourgeoisie (1987b, 19)

Based on this analysis he maintains that,

> the s.a.w.e.'s are pulled toward the position of the proletariat insofar as they are wage earners, but towards the position of the petty bourgeoisie in that their work is not wholly subordinated to capitalist rationality (1987b, 19).

Wright argues that the more contradictory the position of a group in the relations of production, the greater the influence exercised by the political and the ideological in the determination of its class position. Therefore, political and ideological shifts may have a strong influence on the class position of the SAWE's - unlike the unambiguous class positions (the bourgeoisie, proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie) which, at the level of their class position, remain more immune to these influences. Here Wright seems to be implying that the petty bourgeoisie (as one of the 'unambiguous' classes) have an objective orientation in relation to the dominant classes (that is, the working class and the bourgeoisie) in capitalist formations. This is contrary to the view which will be expressed in more detail below.

Wright also argues that the SAWE may potentially support any of the unambiguous class positions and this is ultimately dependent on class struggle. Whilst one would agree with the emphasis on the influence of class struggle in determining political orientation, this approach does not make a convincing enough case to justify why teachers should be viewed as having a 'contradictory class location' as opposed to belonging to a vacillating petty bourgeoisie comprised of different strata. In the end, this perspective simply introduces a new category which does not have any greater explanatory power than the conceptualisation of teachers as belonging to the 'new petty bourgeoisie'. Particularly if such a conceptualisation takes into account that, by virtue of its stratified nature, the 'new petty bourgeoisie' may be split into different alignments depending on the class struggle within a particular conjuncture.

Notwithstanding the above problem, this perspective, particularly Hyslop's application of Wright's model, does provide some useful analytical tools to understand the political behaviour of teachers. Its emphasis on the proletarianisation of the teacher's work process is of particular importance in understanding the factors that push teachers closer to the working class and further away from the bourgeoisie.

Hyslop (1987b) claims that the concept of teachers as SAWE provides the basis for explaining the different strategies which teachers employ to advance their interests, in response to the pulls of the petty-bourgeoisie and

of the working class. He argues that,

> there are two strategies which correspond to the pull of the petty-bourgeoisie on teachers; at a collective level, professionalism, and at an individual level, individual upward mobility. And there are two strategies which correspond to the pull of the working class upon teachers; at a collective level, popular/union strategy, and at an individual level, individual radicalisation (1987b, 27).

For Hyslop, the semi-autonomous character of teachers' work and their 'trust' relationship with their employers create the basis for them to adopt professionalism as an ideology and strategy to advance their interests. He argues that the process of proletarianisation of teachers' work and the statification of education makes the professional ideology unviable and results in teachers seeking personal upward mobility or in becoming politically active in radical movements.

The major weakness of Hyslop's analysis is his failure to justify why the conceptualization of teachers' class location as 'new petty bourgeoisie' will not provide the basis for a similar explanation as outlined above, particularly if one extends the conceptualisation to account for the processes of proletarianisation and statification. What is useful about Hyslop's analysis is that he provides analytical insights into how these processes are progressively altering teachers' work process, bringing it closer to the experience of the working class - essentially because it leads to a decline of teacher autonomy and prestige (Hyslop, 1987b). I will argue later that the existence of a process of proletarianisation is not, in itself, a sufficient basis for removing teachers from the category of 'new petty bourgeoisie' and suggesting that they occupy a contradictory class location. In other words, whilst teachers are in the process of being proletarianised, they are not yet fully proletarianised and still occupy a class position which fits the description of 'new petty-bourgeoisie'. Furthermore the 'new petty-bourgeoisie' is not a homogeneous class, but is highly stratified in terms of the organisation of the work process of different professions. Whether teachers are part of the 'new petty bourgeoisie' or whether they have a 'contradictory class location' does not detract from conceptualising the class location of teachers as being outside the working class and outside the bourgeosie. It therefore follows that teachers have no objective interests in socialism or in capitalism and need not be fully proletarianised before they may identify with the working class and radical popular organisations.

Another weakness in Hyslop's analysis is the absence of any reference to how the political may influence the strategic orientation of teachers in terms of the strategies mentioned above.

The importance of a conjunctural analysis in understanding the political

behaviour of teachers as a social grouping has already been raised above. However, a conspicuous and important gap that remains (in Hyslop's as well as the other approaches discussed above) is the absence of any discussion of how, if at all, the national question impacts on the orientation of teachers in the different education departments in South Africa. In this regard, none of the above theoretical perspectives offer satisfactory theoretical and empirical tools to understand the political orientation and attitudes of "coloured" teachers (as opposed to, for example, that of white teachers) in relation to class struggle in the current conjuncture.

In terms of the *Colonialism of a Special Type (CST)* thesis (SACP, 1982), South African society is viewed as principally a class society with capitalism as the dominant mode of production. Its central thesis is that because of colonialism, national oppression came to be inextricably linked to capitalist development, to the extent that race is an integral component of the relations of domination and exploitation which determine the social division of labour. Therefore, class formation, the mobility of different classes and the relationship between different classes are all strongly mediated by race.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the CST thesis is its implications for political mobilisation and class alliance. According to CST, national (racial) oppression experienced by all black people provides the basis for the black middle class and the black working class to share a common political interest in bringing an end to racial domination. The link between race and class in South Africa leads to an intertwining between national oppression and economic exploitation. Therefore, the presence of national oppression provides an objective basis for a national democratic alliance between classes in the struggle for the establishment of a national democracy (which is neither socialist nor capitalist). According to CST, establishment of a national democracy through a national democratic revolution constitutes the shortest possible route to socialism because firstly, it offers the strongest potential for the mobilisation of the maximum number of people against the status quo; and secondly, the elimination of national oppression will necessarily affect the economic structures of society. Its final outcome will ultimately depend on the balance of class forces in the period after the establishment of a national democracy.

In elaborating the above position, Nolutshungu (1983) provides a compelling argument to show how the relationship between race and class in South Africa has conditioned the emergence of the specific character of the present South African social formation. He argues that race cannot be conceived as a mere 'epi-phenomenon' of class or as mere 'ideology' which serves to blur class exploitation,

> ...but rather as part of a specific political context with a distinctive place in the creation and reproduction of classes (ibid., 49).

Nolutshungu's argument, if applied to black teachers[6], would suggest that the relationship between race and class draws them strongly towards the black working class. Nolutshungu uses three major arguments to substantiate this claim. Firstly, he argues that their exclusion from key economic positions, as well as from the major political and ideological institutions, leads to the frustration of this class and a conflict of interests with the ruling class. Secondly, this exclusion also minimizes the chances of their co-option and restricts their capacity to hegemonise themselves over the masses of oppressed and, therefore, also restricts their capacity to reproduce themselves as a middle class. Thirdly, the reforms that have taken place so far have not significantly altered the basic structure of exploitation and national oppression[7].

The CST thesis acknowledges that, at an abstract general level, the black petty bourgeoisie (BPB) does share the qualities associated with the petty bourgeoisie in general in capitalist social formations. This confirms the importance of theorising the class location of teachers. However, at a concrete level, the "in-between" nature of the petty bourgeoisie in South Africa is mediated by national oppression and the articulation between race and class in the social formation. For the BPB, this mediation results in their occupying a contradictory location with respect to the dominant classes. On the one hand, the BPB share the oppressive conditions that flow from national oppression with the majority of the working class and they are consequently drawn to the working class. On the other hand, their relatively privileged economic position propels them towards the bourgeoisie and white petty bourgeoisie.

In evaluating the appropriateness of CST for this study, it needs to be stressed that CST is not a finite and determinate theory, but rather a developing theory. The existence of a number of theoretical lacunae, therefore, does not constitute failure of the theory as a whole, but rather of specific areas which need to be refined through further debate and praxis.

One urgent theoretical lacuna in CST is its lack of precision on the specificity of the composition of the BPB. In view of this, the contemporary discourse on CST, almost by default, does not sufficiently account for the different ethnic and other interest and economic groups created by

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[6] Although Nolutshungu (1983) is referring to the petty bourgeoisie, his argument would apply to teachers if they are considered to be part of the 'new petty bourgeoisie'.

[7] Obviously, this refers to reforms up to the date on which Notlutshungu was writing. The impact of more current reforms, particularly those effected after February 2 1990, is discussed below.

apartheid and now constituting material and distinct parts of the BPB. According to Nzimande, the CST thesis suffers from a

> ...lack of clarity on the fact that the different strata and fractions composing this group stand in different economic and political relations to both the state and white monopoly capitalism (1991, 53).

Flowing from the above theoretical problem, the contemporary discourse on CST conceptualises the role of the political in conditioning potential class alignments of the BPB in a manner that does not pose questions on whether different fractions of the BPB may respond differently to the same set of conditions. Secondly, and this relates to the first point, the "non-cooptability" and potential class alignments of the black petty bourgeoisie is arrived at purely on the basis of conditions in the political terrain without relating this to the internal composition of this group.

There can be no denying that there are contradictory pulls on the BPB which are mediated by the balance of class forces in the conjuncture. The rapid shifts presently underway in the political terrain which began with the unbanning of organisations in February 1990 certainly require that a rigorous interrogation of CST be undertaken to evaluate its appropriateness in understanding class alliances and political orientations in the present conjuncture. Given the centrality of the concept 'national oppression' in the CST thesis in explaining and understanding political orientation, class alliances and mobilisation, it is necessary to assess whether new conditions in the current conjuncture have in any way altered the way in which national oppression is experienced and perceived by oppressed people. In this regard, two questions come to mind as being of immediate importance: how have conditions in the current conjuncture impacted on national oppression; and does the current trajectory of changing conditions warrant a reconceptualisation of the relationship between race and class?

Although it is beyond the scope of this report to conduct a detailed analysis of the appropriateness of the CST thesis in the current conjuncture, some comment, albeit with a much narrower focus than that suggested above, is unavoidable if (as is intended in this study) the CST thesis is to be applied to an analysis of the political attitudes and aspirations of coloured teachers.

Arguing from the perspective of CST, it may be contended that the historical relationship between race and class, particularly its role in conditioning the specific political formation in South Africa, has not altered in any significant way. Therefore, the question of race cannot be addressed in any reform process without simultaneously impacting on the question of class. The unbanning of organisations, the negotiation process - particularly the participation of progressive organisations in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), bilateral meetings between the

African National Congress (ANC) and the government, and the repeal of many key apartheid laws have certainly served to alter the 'visibility' and ideological content of national oppression. Whereas national oppression still exists at the level of structural conditions, the present liberalisation of apartheid and the Nationalist Party coupled with the expectation that a process is underway which will serve to alter national oppression, will certainly have a strong impact on the way oppressed people experience and perceive national oppression.

The increased participation of popular progressive political organisations in fora charged with negotiations on political power has conceivably already begun to alter the perceptions on white monopoly of political power in South Africa. The repeal of the Group Areas Act and the qualified opening up of schools to all races have resulted in a fraction of the BPB severing their geographic interconnectedness with the black working class. These factors, though their occurence is still on a small scale, are significant enough to warrant revisiting Nolutshungu's work and posing the question of whether conditions have altered enough to allow small fractions of the BPB to consolidate themselves as a class and, if so, what relationship would unfold between themselves and the working class and capital respectively.

If one accepts that the starkness of national oppression under apartheid is a real cohering factor in conditioning the way different fractions of the oppressed people react to conditions in the political terrain, then the questions raised above should make a prima facie case to question whether the ideological content and 'visibility' of national oppression has in fact altered and, if it has, whether this is having a different impact on different fractions of the oppressed people. Given the heterogeneity of the oppressed people, it is conceivable that the liberalisation of apartheid will serve to weaken the cohering forces, thus making way for conjunctural factors to become even more important in determining the political alignments of different constituents of the oppressed people. More concretely, in terms of coloured teachers, this study will pose the question of whether the relatively more privileged position of coloured people serves to condition the impact of national oppression on the political orientation of coloured teachers in the current conjuncture. For example, if coloured teachers perceive that a coloured ethnic identity provides the basis for definite material benefits then this factor will certainly militate against an identification with radical, working class-based popular movements, or, at the minimum, will condition this identification.

In view of the arguments presented above, it is perhaps necessary to summarise the theoretical perspective adopted in this study.

1. Teachers are part of the 'new petty-bourgeoisie' (as argued by Poulantzas) but are also subject to conditions or processes of

proletarianisation. It is therefore essential to assess the impact of this process of proletarianisation on the teacher's work process and the extent to which teachers have become aware of it. This study will attempt to explore the relationship between teachers' perceptions of their work process and the strategies they employ to advance their interests.

2. National oppression creates the conditions for the exclusion of coloured teachers from economic and political institutions. This in turn provides a basis for their alliance with the working class towards the establishment of a national democracy.

3. The concept 'oppressed people' is constituted of heterogeneous fractions, each of which responds in a specific way to political conditions in the conjuncture.

4. In adopting the CST thesis as a basis of analysis, it will be necessary to acknowledge that the class determination and political behaviour (arising out of their political interests) of teachers is a function of the balance of class forces in different historical conjunctures and that the relationship between race and class becomes central in conceptualizing those specific conjunctures.

2.2 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE DURBAN COLOURED COMMUNITY

A central point that was emphasised in the preceding section is that, in addition to class, the socio-political context of coloured teachers plays an important role in influencing their political behaviour. This section will look at some of the major social and political features of the coloured community in the Greater Durban Area (GDA).

2.2.1 SOCIOLOGICAL PROFILE

2.2.1.1 Population number

According to the 1985 Population Census, the total number of people registered as coloured and living in Durban and surrounding areas amounted to 54 465. Most commentators put the actual figure much higher than this, some suggesting that it may be closer to 100 000 (Manning, 1988). Two important points may be made in relation to the coloured population number. Firstly, the population in Durban (and in Natal as a whole) accounts for a small percentage of the overall coloured population in South Africa. Secondly, the "coloured population group" is far smaller in number compared to other "population groups" (as defined in the Population Registration Act) living in the GDA.

2.2.1.2 Education background

A survey conducted by Sheldon Rankin (1984) in 1983 produced the following findings about the education levels[8] of coloured people in the greater Durban area:

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED	PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE
No schooling	15%
Primary school	25%
Standard 6	15%
Standard 7 - 10	45%

It is significant that of the 7 161 coloured people who passed matric between 1965 and 1987, about 65% matriculated in the last ten years. (Manning, 1988) This suggests that state education provision for coloured people underwent a rapid expansion in this period.

2.2.1.3 Class composition

A large proportion of the population is economically active with about 84% of males employed in blue collar occupations and 68% of females employed in low-level white collar positions (Rankin, 1984). The majority of the economically active males are either skilled or semi-skilled and therefore occupy relatively more privileged positions compared to the majority of the African working class who occupy unskilled positions. This is probably a factor which contributes to the relatively poor level of unionisation amongst coloured workers in the greater Durban area. Notwithstanding this, there are two major factors which militate against this relative privilege translating itself into support for the state and for capital. Firstly, they still encounter the effects of national oppression and exclusion from political institutions. Secondly, their own economic position is still overshadowed by the greater privileges (perceived or real) enjoyed by whites in South Africa. Job security for semi-skilled blue collar workers has always been very sensitive to cyclic changes in the economy. The protracted recession since the mid-seventies has resulted in a high level of unemployment and uncertainty about job tenure. Although economic exploitation on the factory floor is cushioned by their position as semi-skilled workers (and perhaps as foremen), this relatively privileged position is mediated by the net effect of periods of unemployment which serve to depress the collective economic income of the community - bringing their experience closer to that of the working class.

Coloured workers on the whole have enjoyed higher wages than African

[8] These findings deal with formal schooling only and do not include post-secondary education.

workers. This phenomenon, together with other apartheid phenomena such as the Group Areas Act and separate education, may arguably have reinforced their "differences" in South Africa's racially structured social formation. More recently, the worsening impoverishment of coloured workers and the growing insecurity of tenure as a result of the protracted economic recession (particularly during the 1980s) has drawn coloured workers closer to the position of African workers.

It is interesting to note that a large proportion of women are economically active. There are two significant factors which condition the experience of women workers. Firstly, a high number of families are single parent households with the woman being the only parent and breadwinner - Rankin (1984) puts this figure at 10%. Rankin also found that female-headed households (no husband) were economically much worse off than male-headed households. Secondly, because of the frequency of unemployment, women are often forced to work to supplement the family income. Most women earn salaries which are not much higher than those earned by African women workers.

The number of people who fall into the middle class make up a small minority of the population. It is significant for this study that the majority of these people are teachers as the figures (for 1988) below indicate[9]:

OCCUPATION	TOTAL NUMBER IN GDA
doctors	< 40
lawyers	< 20
teachers	< 900
other professions	< 100
businesspersons	< 300

The creation of the House of Representatives in 1984 gave rise to the emergence of a new category of employees: the 'bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie'.[10] The growth of the bureaucracy has produced a rapid increase in the number of civil servants who, in 1988, numbered about 860 (Manning, 1988). The bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie, as state employees,

[9] Figures derived from Rankin (1984), Manning (1988), and from interviews with school principals.

[10] For a description of the term: 'bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie', see Josana (1989) and Nzimande (1991).

may be considered to be direct beneficiaries of the ethnic HOR's system of patronage. However, there are many factors which militate against the bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie aligning themselves with the state, despite (and sometimes because of) the fact that they are employed by the HOR. Firstly, the overwhelming majority earn salaries which are close to those of the coloured working class. Manning (1988) claims that in 1988 about 50% earned under R1 000 per month; about 9,5% earned over R1 000 per month; and only about 5,5% earned over R2 000 per month. Secondly, their conditions of work and low salaries relative to white civil servants, serve as a constant reminder of their own position in the racial structure of labour. Thirdly, the HOR's unpopularity in the community is probably shared by many of its employees, giving rise to a negative attitude towards their employers. Fourthly, the budgetary constraints of the HOR administration and the lack of experience which results in constant bureaucratic bungling leads to tremendous frustration amongst this group and the community. The rank and file civil servants operate on the interface between the administration and the community and often take the brunt of community dissatisfaction, but lack the facility to benefit from the patronage which accrues to politicians and senior civil servants. Given the relatively small size of the HOR administration and the frequency of political appointments in senior level positions, the chances for upward mobility are extremely limited. It is, therefore, unlikely that a significant number of the bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie have been co-opted by the state. They do not view their future employment as being dependent on the existence of the HOR. On the contrary, the HOR symbolises, in concrete terms, the embodiment of discriminatory practices under apartheid. The bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie have not enjoyed prestige and respect in the community as teachers and priests and they do not feature in any significant way in leadership positions in society.

2.2.1.4 Profile of coloured teachers

In the past teachers, alongside priests, were viewed with respect in the community. Teachers often occupied senior positions in the church structures of this fairly religious community. However, it would appear that this image of teachers in the community has receded in recent years. The rapid expansion of schooling, referred to above, created the opportunity for many school leavers to enter the teaching profession, and this has resulted in the present teaching force being relatively youthful. According to Manning (1988), in 1988, over 50% of teachers who had entered the professic : in the previous twenty-four years had qualified in the previous nine years.

Teachers who taught in church schools generally enjoyed a high prestige because of the proximity of these schools to the church and the church's distance from the state. The expansion of state schooling has resulted in a decline in the number of church schools. As new, better paid and higher

status occupations became available to coloured people, the relative status of teachers decreased in the eyes of the community.

A very significant feature of the coloured middle class is its interconnectedness with the working class. This interconnectedness occurs, in one instance, at the level of the family. Many families have members who belong to both categories. In most cases, relationships exist with relatives belonging to both categories. It is not very often that new generations within a family undergo significant upward mobility. There are many cases where the children of middle class parents enter blue collar occupations. Also, because of the Group Areas Act, members from both groups share a common geographic and social space: they live in the same area, send their children to the same schools, belong to the same churches, and participate in common leisure activities. Together, they contend with inferior amenities, poor roads and social problems such as a high crime rate. Hence, their experiences stand in sharp contrast to those of their white counterparts. All these features serve to militate against the coloured middle class consolidating themselves as a class (Nolutshungu, 1983).

2.2.2 POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY IN DURBAN

2.2.2.1 Coloured community as a whole

Unlike the coloured community in the Western Cape, the Durban coloured community has not established any significant tradition of opposition to apartheid. Until 1956, coloured people were eligible to vote which to some extent lead to the perception that their interests were being served by the government (Randall, 1968; van der Ross, 1979). However, the removal of coloured people from the voter's role in 1956 rapidly eroded their apparent elevated position as compared to the African masses. The majority of coloured people considered this to be a betrayal by the Nationalist Government which served to sharpen their perception of national oppression under apartheid. The removal of coloured people from the voter's roll marks the first major shift in their relationship with the apartheid state.

The first significant mass action against apartheid occurred in 1980 when students in Durban's coloured schools joined the national school boycotts which originated in coloured schools in the Western Cape. The scale of these boycotts impacted on the consciousness of the entire community and possibly laid the basis for the fairly rapid politicisation of the community. The 1980 boycotts marked the second major shift in the relationship with the apartheid state.

By 1984, the government's intentions to co-opt the coloured and Indian communities were concretely manifested through the implementation of the tricameral system. This new dispensation was aimed at a qualified

incorporation of coloured and Indian people into the political institutions of South Africa. Ironically, the tricameral parliamentary elections had the opposite effect and this marks the third major shift. It created the conditions for a rapid and drastic increase in anti-apartheid activism in the coloured (and Indian) communities. Over 80% of registered voters boycotted the elections which corresponded to the call put out by non-racial progressive popular formations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress (ANC). Although the state managed to seduce the once popular Labour Party to participate in the elections, the elections themselves created the conditions for the successful emergence of a new political organisation, the United Committee of Concern (UCC), amongst coloured people in Natal. The UCC emerged as a staunch opponent of apartheid and affiliated itself to the UDF soon after its inception. Hence, through the UCC, anti-apartheid activism in the coloured community came to articulate very definitely with the non-racial liberation movement. The overwhelming majority of the membership of the UCC has joined the ANC since it was unbanned on 2 February 1990.

A significant and recent trend with respect to the coloured working class is that an increasing number have joined progressive trade unions affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), in particular the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Worker's Union (SACCAWU)[11] and the National Union of Metal Worker's of South Africa (NUMSA). This phenomenon may be considered to represent a fourth shift. One of the major reasons for the emergence of this trend is the relative success of these unions in pushing up the wages of African workers and the protection that has accrued from unionisation. Although coloured workers generally earn better wages than African workers, their experience of economic exploitation (such as the long periods of unemployment and the rising cost of living coupled with a decline, in real terms, of their earning power) and the poor treatment meted out by management, has resulted in the realisation that their interests are better served by these unions. Therefore, although they occupy a relatively privileged position in the relations of production, capital has not addressed the needs of coloured workers. Even though many may have joined the unions for narrow economic reasons, it is highly likely that their participation in these progressive trade unions will have an impact on their consciousness which, in turn, could permeate the politics of the community as a whole.

It is clear from the above that the coloured community in Durban has undergone significant shifts in the last ten years. However, since most of the shifts referred to involve only small numbers of people in the community,

[11] Previously known as the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWUSA).

it cannot be assumed that they reflect the changing orientation of the majority of coloured people. Notwithstanding this, it is still significant that a definite trend has emerged which reflects an increasing identification with progressive organisations in the political landscape.

2.2.2.2 Political context of teachers

Coloured teachers have generally avoided political involvement in the community. More recently, the rapidly changing political conjuncture in the country as a whole coupled with the dynamics within the coloured community itself (the 1980 school boycotts; the tricameral system; the politicisation of the community) have resulted in some significant shifts in the political orientation of teachers. In 1988, SONAT and the Cape Teachers Association (CTPA) resolved to adopt the Freedom Charter. Around the same time, both SONAT and the CTPA became involved in the process to form a united non-racial teacher organisation. This process culminated in the formation of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in October 1990. Prior to the launch of SADTU, the SONAT annual general meeting in June 1990 resolved to disband the organisation in favour of joining the new non-racial teacher organisation. It is, however, not clear whether these shifts include the rank and file teachers or whether it can be interpreted as a convergence of coloured teachers and progressive popular organisations in the liberation movement - this is one of the central questions that will be posed in the interpretation of the data in the following section.

2.2.3 SUMMARY OF MAIN POINTS

Some of the key points from the above overview that have a bearing on the analysis which follows are summarised below.

1. The coloured middle classes make up a very small percentage of the coloured population in the GDA. The majority of economically active people occupy blue collar positions or low level white collar positions.

2. Teachers comprise the overwhelming majority of the coloured middle class.

3. There is a high level of interconnectedness between the middle-classes and the working classes in the coloured community.

4. Although the Durban coloured community does not have a long tradition of anti-apartheid activism, some significant shifts have taken place in the last ten years. However, it is not clear what impact these shifts have had on the community as a whole.

5. Coloured teachers on the whole do not have a tradition of resistance to apartheid or of participation in anti-apartheid organisations aligned to the liberation movement. Here again, some significant shifts have taken place at the level of teachers. In addition, the shifts at the level of the community may have had an impact on the political behaviour of teachers. It is also not clear how these developments are impacting on rank and file teachers.

2.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In concluding this section, two points need to be emphasised. Firstly, although the centrality of class location in the determination of political behaviour in the last instance is acknowledged, it is also acknowledged that coloured teachers as a social grouping cannot be extricated (for the purpose of analysis) from their socio-political context in South Africa. Secondly, in the current conjuncture, national oppression as well as class (particularly in the way they articulate with each other) play a role in determining the political behaviour of coloured teachers, and hence in determining their strategic orientation.

SECTION II
ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

1. PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE

Exactly two-thirds of the overall sample (66,67%) were female. Of those teaching in secondary schools, 61,1% were female and in primary schools, 71,1% were female.

The majority of the respondents, about 58%, were married (62,96% of male respondents and 55,55% of female respondents); about 27% were single; 11,1% divorced (3,7% of male respondents and 13% of female respondents); and 1,2% widowed. Approximately 52% of the sample were living in ownership homes (that is, homes that they already owned or will eventually own). This figure is fairly balanced for males and females: 52% of all males and 50% of all females. However, only 29,6% of the respondents (48,2% of males and 20,4% of females) were receiving a housing subsidy. The main reason for the discrepency between the number of males compared to females receiving a housing subsidy is that married women do not qualify for housing subsidies.

The findings confirm that the majority of teachers are relatively young with most having qualified in the last ten years.

TABLE II: TEACHING EXPERIENCE

0-5 years	32%	6-10 years	27%
11-15 years	15%	16-20 years	10%
21-25 years	5%	26-30 years	5%
31-35 years	4%	36-40 years	2%

Just under three out of every five respondents (approximately 59%) began teaching in the last ten years and almost three-quarters (74%) have been teaching for under 15 years.

TABLE III: SPOUSE'S OCCUPATION

semi-skilled	42,2%	teacher	17,8%
clerk	2,5%	secretary	2,5%
lecturer	2,5%	cleric	2,5%
housewife	8,9%	doctor	2,5%
attorney	2,5%	self-employed	2,5%
building contr.	2,5%		

It is significant that only 13,3% of the spouses, in terms of their occupations, fall (unproblematically) into the category of petty bourgeoisie (one doctor, one attorney, two listed as "self-employed", two building contractors). In most cases, "self-employed" applies to building contractors or carpenters who take on private jobs. These people generally run small one-person businesses which are very sensitive to the state of the economy.

Although a large number of the married respondents enjoy a double income, it appears that most of the spouses have occupations that are particularly susceptible to the economic recession (blue collar workers, small entrepreneurs and low level white collar workers).[12] This would suggest that the double income is not very stable in the present economic climate because of the looming threat of unemployment.

1.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The fact that a large majority of the respondents (74%) only started teaching in the last fifteen years confirms that coloured education underwent a process of rapid statification fairly recently. The majority of the sample have thus entered the profession during this period of rapid statification.

It is perhaps important to note that the majority of the respondents have entered the teaching profession at about the same time that the coloured community entered the present phase of politicisation referred to earlier. Furthermore, a large percentage of these teachers were either at school or at college or university during the 1980 education boycotts.

[12] The impact of the economic recession on these occupations was discussed in more detail in the overview of the Durban coloured community.

2. ATTITUDES TO WORK PROCESS

The purpose of this section is to identify trends, with regard to teachers' perception of their work, which may have an influence on how they perceive/articulate their interests and the strategies they employ to advance these interests.[13] This will be done by exploring those aspects of their work which they find:

1. most satisfying, and
2. most dissatisfying.

2.1 ASPECTS WHICH RESPONDENTS FIND MOST SATISFYING

A total of 63% (9,9% strongly agreed and 53,1% agreed) of the respondents agreed that their work as a teacher is satisfying - the figures for males and females were very similar at 63,0% and 59,6% respectively. Of the remainder, 34,6% disagreed - 6,2% strongly disagreed and 28,4% disagreed - that their work is satisfying. A further 2,5% did not know.

In another question, respondents were asked to list those aspects of their work which they found most satisfying. Table IV shows those items which returned the ten highest frequencies.

TABLE IV: MOST SATISFYING ASPECTS

RESPONSE	% OF SAMPLE
1. Teaching/working with pupils.	59,0%
2. Pupil success/development.	28,4%
3. Rapport between colleagues.	13,6%
4. When pupils achieve good results.	12,3%
5. Salary.	9,9%
6. Working hours.	6,2%
7. Counselling pupils.	4,9%
8. Subjects taught.	4,9%
9. Holidays.	3,7%
10. Administrative and paper work.	3,7%

The high frequency for "teaching/working with pupils" suggests that the majority find the actual teaching process satisfying. There is a strong

[13] It should be noted that these interests may be perceived, conjunctural or real.

correlation between these findings and the responses received to the question: "What motivated you to become a teacher?". Here, the response "working with pupils/people" reflected the highest percentage of the total responses given.

Whilst Items 2 and 4 in Table IV, show a definite pupil-directed interest, they also reflect a strong emphasis on performance and results. Item 3 suggests that the respondents place a strong emphasis on collegiality - something which is not afforded much weight within the traditional functioning of the school environment and the competitive context encouraged by the system of promotions and merit awards. The researcher discovered, through follow-up interviews, that almost all the schools in the sample have very few extra-mural activities which make demands on teachers beyond the time allocated to actual teaching. This probably explains why item 6 in Table II has a high frequency.

It is also important that those aspects which account for a major part of the teacher's daily tasks, such as lesson preparation and administrative work, were not listed with very high frequencies.

2.2 ASPECTS WHICH RESPONDENTS FIND MOST DISSATISFYING

Respondents were also asked to list those aspects of their work which they considered to be most dissatisfying. Table V reflects those items which returned the ten highest frequencies.

TABLE V: MOST DISSATISFYING ASPECTS

RESPONSE	% OF SAMPLE
1. Administrative and paper work	32,3%
2. Inspection and evaluation system.	25,4%
3. Teacher/pupil ratio.	12,7%
4. Salary.	5,6%
5. Prescriptive methods.	5,6%
6. Pressure and interference from superiors.	5,6%
7. Bureaucracy and red tape.	5,6%
8. Being a temporary teacher.	4,2%
9. Lack of facilities.	4,2%
10. The present syllabus.	4,2%

Two aspects ("administrative and paper work" and "inspection and evaluation system"), as shown in Table III, returned considerably higher

frequencies than any of the others. What teachers perceived to be a high teacher/pupil ratio returned the third highest frequency. It is particularly significant that all these aspects relate to the increasing proletarianisation of the teachers' work process, by eroding their autonomy over their work, and by contributing to an increase in the teachers workload (Harris, 1982; and Hyslop, 1987b) - significantly, with work that they find dissatisfying. Furthermore, the aspects considered to be dissatisfying appear to be impacting on those aspects of their work which the respondents listed as being most satisfying (such as working with pupils) because the process of interaction with pupils is rigidly mediated through prescriptive teaching methods. Therefore, although most teachers have indicated that they are presently satisfied, many of them also expressed strong dissatisfaction with certain aspects of their work. It appears that the process of proletarianisation is already beginning to erode the aspects which contribute to this satisfaction.

Although it is certainly correct to conclude that mechanical and prescriptive teaching methods appear to be alienating teachers from their work, it should be noted that certain ideological factors simultaneously serve to temper this alienation. For example, new teaching methods are presented as a means of improving pupil exam performance - which, as the findings above show, is also considered by respondents to be important. It is possible that the apparent improvement in pupil performance, as measured by the improved matriculation exam results, will mitigate the alienation generated by prescriptive teaching methods.

The strong dissatisfaction expressed toward the system of inspection and evaluation deserves further comment. In a separate question, respondents were specifically asked if they are satisfied with the system of inspection. Here, the majority indicated that they were not satisfied: 30,9% were most dissatisfied; 34,6% were not satisfied; 25,9% were moderately satisfied. Only 2,5% were fully satisfied and 3,7% were mostly satisfied but not fully. These findings confirm that the relationship between teachers and the inspectorate, and hence between teachers and the department, seems to be of a conflictual nature.

It is also important that very few respondents listed salaries as an aspect which they find dissatisfying. One possible reason for this is that, relative to the majority of economically active coloured people, teachers appear to enjoy a high income level. This applies particularly to the female respondents since the majority of the economically active coloured women occupy low income jobs in the private sector (as pointed out in Section I). Furthermore, the majority of the sample have qualifications that are equivalent to, or above, matriculation plus three years training. They therefore command salaries that are considerably higher than those at the lower rungs of the teacher salary scales. However, it is evident from the

findings of the unstructured interviews that the respondents consider their salaries to be depressed relative to those of other skilled occupations, such as computer related jobs, personnel and marketing. Teachers consider themselves underpaid in relation to people with similar matriculation passes who, in some cases, have undergone less training (in terms of years). So, although teachers are generally dissatisfied with their present salaries, this dissatisfaction features less prominently relative to their dissatisfaction with other aspects of their work. Furthermore, the extent of this dissatisfaction (with salaries) is strongly influenced by how teachers perceive their market value, measured in terms of the market value of jobs in the private sector which they consider to be accessible to them. The fact that it is not easy to find alternative employment in the present economic recession, serves to minimise the impact of the latter phenomenon.

Although the majority of the respondents are female, the findings do not convey any strong sense of gender discrimination in relation to the work process, except around the issue of promotions (discussed below). This suggests a general lack of gender consciousness which is probably related to the lack of radicalism in the history of coloured teacher organisation in Durban.

2.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is perhaps important to note that both the questions on satisfaction and the ones on dissatisfaction, produced a large range of responses. This suggests that the respondents do not share a common discourse with regard to issues around their work as teachers. Here again, the findings point to an absence of strong organisation and of participation in discussions around issues that affect teachers. One of the consequences of this phenomenon may be that the respondents might seek strategies to deal with their problems as individuals and not collectively.

Although the findings suggest that the dissatisfaction expressed by the sample is a consequence of the process of proletarianisation, it also appears that there are aspects which the respondents find satisfying. However, all the aspects which they presently find satisfying are constantly being eroded by the process of proletarianisation.

The findings suggest that the respondents' dissatisfaction which derives from proletarianisation is strongly linked to the inspectorate and hence, as was argued above, to the department. Therefore, this conflictual relationship with the department is also the context within which teachers perceive their dissatisfaction with their work. This finding challenges the notion of teachers as "purveyors of the ruling class ideology", suggesting that this function is mediated by their relationship with the department (state) which is itself a site of struggle and therefore open to contestation.

Having looked at how the respondents perceive their work as teachers, the following section will focus on the different ways in which they attempt to advance their interests.

3. STRATEGIES FOR ADVANCING INTERESTS

According to Hyslop's (1987b) analysis - discussed in Section I - teachers will employ strategies to advance their interests which either involve an identification with the working class, or a with the petty bourgeoisie (a "professional" strategy). The major purpose of this sub-section is to explore some of the options through which the respondents in this sample try to advance their interests, with particular reference to improving their conditions of work and earning power.

The following trends, which arise from the findings, will be discussed:

- Acquiring permanent status.
- Upward mobility within the teaching context.
- Upward mobility outside of teaching as a career.
- Emigration.

The notion of upward mobility is underpinned by the claim that educational qualifications contribute to upward mobility (Dore, 1976). It may, therefore, be useful, before beginning a discussion on the above trends, to contexualise this by looking at the educational qualifications of the respondents.

3.1 EDUCATION BACKGROUND OF SAMPLE

The overwhelming majority of respondents (91,4%) have completed Standard Ten. For a further 2,6% and 1,3%, the highest phase of formal schooling completed is Standard Eight and Standard Six respectively.

De Vries (1987) points out that the required qualification for teachers, established in 1953, is Standard Eight (ten years of schooling) and three years of teacher training. Measured against this state norm, only 5,4% of the sample will be deemed "under-qualified". Furthermore, 87,6% of the respondents in this study have qualifications that are either equal to or greater than an equivalent qualification of matriculation (twelve years of schooling) and three years of teacher training. Just under one-quarter of all respondents (24,7%) are in possession of a university degree and about 5% are in possession of a second university degree. The percentage of male respondents with university degrees is somewhat higher than that for female respondents: 33,3% and 21,2% respectively. However, in absolute numbers, more females have degrees since there are more female than male teachers in the sample.

Until about ten years ago, there were very few options available to Durban coloured teachers who wished to upgrade their qualifications through part-time study. Consequently, only a small number managed to complete degrees and the relative percentage of graduates was fairly small. The major option open to coloured teachers was to study for a degree or diploma through correspondence at the University of South Africa (UNISA). More recently, after coloured people were allowed to register at the Universities of Natal and Durban-Westville, many teachers opted to enroll for part-time study at these institutions. In addition, certain colleges of education began to offer part-time courses through correspondence. These courses are primarily aimed at teachers who are in possession of a two- or three-year teacher's diploma and who wish to upgrade their diplomas to a four-year qualification.

In 1982, the then Department of Coloured Education, implemented a policy by which degreed teachers were all allocated to secondary schools.[14] This means that primary school teachers are summarily transferred to a secondary school on completion of a university degree. All promotion posts in primary schools, below the level of deputy principal, are presently filled with non-graduate teachers - the minimum requirement being a four-year teacher's diploma. Therefore, unlike in the case of secondary school teachers, the possession of a university degree ceased to be a de facto requirement for the promotion of primary school teachers. In view of this, most primary school teachers presently tend to pursue the easier option of completing the four-year diploma course. In a number of cases, long-serving primary school teachers qualified for, and were successful in obtaining, posts as heads of department (HOD) in secondary schools on completion of a degree. Consequently, a very experienced primary school teacher could not only be placed in a position in which he/she has very little experience but could also be placed in an advisory/supervisory position over other teachers who may have been serving for a longer period at secondary school level. The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that, in most cases, the degrees taken have very little relevance to, and impact on, the quality of teaching (de Vries, 1987). The consequence of this policy serves as further confirmation that the supervisory function of heads of department is emphasised to a much greater extent than their function as advisors to less experienced teachers. A further consequence is that the growth rate of degreed teachers in the primary schools was considerably lowered.

A quick comparison between the requirements for promotion in primary and secondary schools and the education qualifications of the sample suggests that a large number of teachers do at present qualify for

[14] The HOR retained this policy when it over control of coloured education.

promotion. The impact of this phenomenon on the system of promotions as a mechanism of patronage will be explored in more depth later in this report.

3.2 ACQUIRING PERMANENT STATUS

In the contemporary discourse on teachers in South Africa, scant attention is paid to the conditions of temporary teachers and how these conditions impact on their political behaviour. According to the findings of this study, a total of 20% of the respondents have temporary appointments. It should be noted that this number is inordinately high compared to the number of teachers in the sample who may be deemed "un-" or "under-qualified", suggesting that qualifications are not the major reason for the high number of temporary appointments. A break-down of this figure in terms of gender reveals that one in every ten males, or 11,2%, and one in every five females, or 20,4%, has a temporary appointment - suggesting that females bear the brunt of this phenomenon. It is significant that less than half, 44,5%, of the respondents agreed (6,2% strongly agreed and 38,3% agreed) that their job as a teacher is secure (male 55,6% female 36,6%), as compared to 9,9% who strongly disagreed, 19,8% who disagreed and 25,9% who did not know. This reflects a fairly high incidence of uncertainty about security of tenure and it probably relates to the high number of temporary appointments. The apparent oversupply of teachers[15] is probably one important reason for the high number of temporary teachers. For the first time, college graduates (who are also bursary holders) have not been able to obtain a teaching post in the department. The HOR has had to contend with cut-backs in its education budget. One of the ways of absorbing these cut-backs is to reduce the number of teachers in relation to pupil numbers.

Temporary teachers do not qualify for perks (such as housing subsidy, pension and promotion) which operate to draw teachers away from the experiences of the working class. Their uncertainty about whether they will be re-appointed on expiry of their contracts serves to disempower them in their interaction with the education authorities. Many of them experience a sense of dislocation from the rest of the teacher corps, which contributes to a fragmentation of teachers. Perhaps of even greater importance is that many of these teachers even feel alienated from the teacher organisation, as it is perceived to champion the cause of permanent teachers only. Morrell (1988)[16] has argues that these perks also operate to placate teacher grievances and to win their support for, or acquiescence towards,

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[15] Information obtained from interviews with SONAT officials.

[16] Although Morrell was referring specifically to African teachers in Natal/KwaZulu, his arguments do apply equally to coloured teachers.

the status quo. The sense of insecurity of tenure brings the experiences of temporary teachers closer to that of the working class. For these teachers, the first step towards upward mobility is to secure a permanent appointment.

In the absence of any concerted campaign to address their predicament, temporary teachers have to bide their time and either wait for a permanent appointment, or seek alternative employment. Furthermore, their participation in teacher organisations will be marginal unless their needs and grievances are directly addressed.

3.3 UPWARD MOBILITY WITHIN THE TEACHING CONTEXT

There are two main mechanisms through which teachers may strive for upward mobility within the teaching context:

1. automatic salary increases for additional qualifications; and,
2. promotion.

In general, the higher the teacher's qualifications the greater his/her chances of benefitting from these mechanisms. The discussion which follows seeks to explore the relationship between the respondents' attitudes to the upgrading of qualifications and the above mechanisms for upward mobility.

3.3.1 UPGRADING QUALIFICATIONS

The majority of respondents felt that their basic training provided them with adequate preparation for their jobs as teachers (3,7% agreed and 55,6% strongly agreed as opposed to 7,4% who strongly disagreed and 27,2% who disagreed). The findings show no gender difference in the responses to this question: 59% of males and 57,7% of females agreed. Of those who engaged in further study beyond their basic training, 63% felt that it made a definite improvement in their teaching; 19,6% were uncertain; and 17,4% felt that it made no improvement.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents (80,2%) indicated that they intended to upgrade their qualifications in the future. There was no significant gender difference in these responses: males 85,2% and females 76,9%. A further 12,3% indicated that they are uncertain and only 7,4% indicated that they did not intend to upgrade their qualifications.

In another question, respondents were asked why they wanted to upgrade their qualifications. The findings are reflected in Table VI.

TABLE VI[17]: REASONS FOR UPGRADING QUALIFICATIONS

RESPONSE		TOTAL % of responses	% cases
1.	Improve salary/earnings	33,7	46,9
2.	Improve teaching	18,0	25,0
3.	Learn more	13,5	18,8
4.	For promotion	10,1	14,1
5.	For personal satisfaction	10,1	14,1
6.	Improve qualifications	3,4	4,7
7.	Help pupils with problems	3,4	4,7
8.	Improve employment opportunities	3,4	4,7
9.	So as not to stagnate	2,2	3,1
10.	Improve professionally	1,1	1,6
11.	Do something	1,1	1,6

The findings in Table VI may be grouped into two major emergent categories. The first relates to career mobility, which includes the following responses: "improve salary/earnings"; "for promotion"; "to improve qualifications"; "improve employment opportunities"; and "improve professionally". The composite number of responses in this category expressed as a percentage of the total responses to this question is equal to 50,7%.

The second emergent category relates to a desire to benefit from the course content itself which includes responses such as: "improve teaching; "learn more"; "for personal satisfaction"; and "help pupils with problems". It should be noted that "personal satisfaction" could include some of the following categories: "career mobility" (for example, through higher earning or promotion), "to learn more" and "to help pupils". The composite number of responses in this category, expressed as a percentage of the total responses to this question, is equal to 45%.

It would therefore appear that the number of responses given to both the categories are almost equal. Notwithstanding this, it is still important, for the purpose of this study, that a large number of the respondents are strongly motivated by career related interests (that is, the possibility of improving their earning and chances of promotion) through the upgrading of their qualifications.

[17] Responses reflected in order of frequencies.

De Vries (1987) has argued that in-service training has a stronger impact on the quality of teaching than does part-time study towards a university degree. The main reason for this is that most of the degrees taken by teachers have very little relevance to their teaching. Even though a number of teachers indicated that they wanted to improve their teaching by upgrading their qualifications, it appears that the department places very little emphasis on in-service training as a means of improving the quality of teaching. Only 27,2% of the respondents have engaged in any form of in-service training. It would appear that the dominant teacher organisation, SONAT, does not emphasise in-service training either. Of the respondents that have engaged in in-service training, 77,2% indicated that the training was organised by the department, 1,2% engaged in training organised by SONAT and 3,7% engaged in training organised by other non-department agencies. This lack of emphasis on in-service training is particularly important in view of De Vries' (1987) argument above because it suggests that formal study is motivated more by a desire for upward mobility than by a desire to improve teaching skills.

3.3.2 PROMOTIONS

About half of the respondents (53,1%) indicated that they are keen to receive a promotion. The percentage of male respondents, at 63%, was higher than the percentage of females, at 48%. Of the remainder, 24,7% were uncertain and 22,2% indicated that they were not keen to receive a promotion. A total of 80,2% of the sample occupy non-promotion posts (that of post level one educator). Of those occupying promotion posts, 64,3% (11,1% of total sample) are heads of department - all of whom were female. 7,1% (1,2% of total sample) are senior heads of department, 21,4% (3,7% of total sample) are deputy principals (all male) and 7,1% (1,2% of total sample) are principals (also all male). According to these figures, one in every five teachers in the sample occupies a promotion post. It is perhaps also important that the majority of those in promotion posts are heads of department, who are located between the senior management personnel of the school and ordinary teachers. The number of promotion posts was drastically increased when the HOR was established in 1984. This implies that there is very little chance of more posts being created in the near future. The other growth point for posts is in new schools. However, given the stabilisation of coloured student enrolment (Du Plessis, et al., 1990), and the financial cut-backs (referred to earlier), there appears to be very little chance of many new posts being created. It was pointed out above that there appear to be fewer promotion posts available than there are people who are qualified (in terms of the requirements) to fill them. One logical outcome is that emphasis will increasingly shift away from qualifications to a subjective assessment of how "good" the teacher is as a criterion for promotion. This opens up a greater possibility for the system of promotions to be used as a mechanism of patronage in exchange for teacher support of the status quo and teacher acquiescence.

The respondents were asked to respond to the following statement: "Your chances of receiving a promotion are good". A large proportion of the sample, 48,1%, did not agree that their chances for promotion were good (16% disagreed and 32,1% strongly disagreed). Only 16% agreed that their chances were good and 35,8% indicated that they did not know. Of those who disagreed with the statement, 55,8% were female and 7,4% were male. This seems to suggest that female respondents, more than male respondents, consider their chances for promotion to be poor. This perception appears to be in sharp contrast to the relatively high number of females in the sample who occupy HOD posts, but it corresponds to the absence of females in promotion posts above the level of HOD.

The majority of the respondents (32,1% strongly disagreed and 35,8% disagreed) did not agree that the allocation of promotions are fair. Only 3,7% agreed and 28,4% indicated that they did not know. It appears that the major reason why most females considered their chances of promotion to be poor is because they perceived the allocation of promotions to be unfair - 69,2% of female respondents considered the allocation of promotions to be unfair as opposed to only 29,6% of male respondents who felt the same way.

It is plausible to argue that the system of promotions gives teachers a sense of being able to move up the hierarchical ladder through upgrading their qualifications and by performing according to the department's perceptions of what a "good" teacher is. It is this sense of upward mobility that will draw teachers to a perception of themselves as professionals whose interests are best served through a professional strategy. Furthermore, it makes it easier for teachers to pursue their interests through individual strategies.

3.4 UPWARD MOBILITY OUTSIDE OF TEACHING AS A CAREER

In addition to the strategies discussed above, teachers may also seek to achieve upward mobility outside of teaching by embarking on a change of career. This section will focus attention on this phenomenon.

3.4.1 ATTITUDE TOWARDS EMBARKING ON A CAREER OTHER THAN TEACHING

Even though a large proportion of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied with their jobs as teachers, an alarming number of respondents - a total of 49,4% - indicated that they would change their jobs if they had the opportunity to do so. The percentage for males and females is almost exactly the same: males 48,1% and females 48%. Only 32,9% said that they would definitely not change their job, while 17,7% said that they were uncertain.

Of those who said that they would change their jobs, 12,8% did not indicate what job they would most prefer to do. It is interesting that only 5,1% listed

professions that required a high degree of specialised training (marine engineering and scientific research); 17,9% listed professions that required relatively little further training over and above their present qualifications (computers - 7,7%, social work - 7,7% and journalism - 2,6%); and the majority, 64,1%, listed professions that required little or no additional training (starting own business - 12,8%, working with children from broken homes - 1, public relations work - 2, human relations - 1, professional management - 2, dress designing - 1, communication - 1, bank clerk - 2, hotel industry - 1, counselling - 1, office work 1, secretarial work - 1, sales representative - 1, drama - 1). The findings suggest that, whilst teachers are certainly pursuing a professional strategy and seeking upward mobility, they are not necessarily looking for an elevation to one of the more established and recognised professions, as suggested by Hyslop (1987b). On the contrary, the findings appear to suggest that teachers are searching for anything that is open to them and which does not require much further training - as one respondent put it, "I am prepared to do anything that's available". This is probably because the majority of the respondents consider themselves to have a high level of specialised training: in response to the statement, "You have a high level of expertise in your area of specialisation (in terms of your formal training)", 8,6% strongly agreed, 54,3% agreed, 4,9% strongly disagreed, 21,0% disagreed and 9,9% indicated that they did not know. The respondents were almost equally divided on whether they considered their skills to be in short supply: 34,6% agreed that their skills were in short supply (1,2% strongly agreed and 30,9% agreed) and 37% disagreed with the statement (3,7% strongly disagreed and 33,3% disagreed). A total of 27,2% were uncertain.

The above findings suggest that although a fairly high number (62,9%) consider themselves to have a high degree of specialisation in terms of their training, comparatively few respondents felt that their skills were in short supply. The respondents appear to be responding to recent indications of a surplus of coloured teachers in Natal. This phenomenon tends to devalue the "specialised skills" of teachers; they become less marketable because of the shortage of vacant posts. Furthermore, the economic recession in South Africa and the consequent stagnation of private sector growth has limited options for teachers to be employed in the private sector. Most respondents are not aspiring to the high-status professions; they would accept jobs as bank clerks and secretaries because they consider these to be an improvement over teaching.

3.5 EMIGRATION

A striking trend among Durban coloured teachers is the large number of teachers who have either emigrated or are in the process of considering it seriously. This trend, which became evident through the researcher's own experience as a teacher in coloured schools, featured very strongly in the findings of this study. A total of 14,8% of male and 21,2% of female

respondents - which accounts for 18,5% of the total sample - indicated that they are presently thinking of emigrating. A further 13,6% were uncertain (18,5% of male and 9,6% of female respondents). Assuming that even a small percentage of the "uncertain" category do eventually seriously consider emigration, then the figure of those who are definitely considering emigration could be brought up to about one in every five teachers in the sample!

The reasons given by respondents for wanting to emigrate appear in Table VII.

TABLE VII[18]: REASONS FOR WANTING TO EMIGRATE

Response		% of responses	% of cases
1.	Present political situation	29,4	35,5
2.	To gain better opportunities	17,6	21,4
3.	Better future for children	11,8	14,3
4.	To have a better way of life	11,8	14,3
5.	Family ties in Australia	5,9	7,1
6.	High crime rate	5,9	7,1
7.	The economy	5,9	7,1
8.	Unrest	5,9	7,1
9.	For a change of environment	5,9	7,1

The responses in Table VII all fall into two emergent categories: Firstly, a category comprising of those responses which deal with the present socio-political situation in the country (these include items 1, 6, 7 and 8), and a second category comprising of those responses which relate to a search for a better life and better opportunities outside of South Africa (these include items 2,3 and 4).

Almost all those teachers who have already emigrated have settled in Australia (98,1%). Canada is the other country the small remainder (5,4%) have emigrated to. It goes beyond the scope of this study to provide an in-depth exploration of the reasons why Australia appears to be such a popular choice for emigrants; however, some preliminary comment may be necessary. Australia is one of the few English-speaking and Western industrialised countries - which makes it attractive for linguistic, cultural and

[18] Responses reflected in order of frequencies.

economic reasons - that has practiced a fairly relaxed immigration policy with respect to black South Africans. The fact that so many Durban coloured people have already settled in Australia makes it a progressively attractive option for emigration. The degree of dislocation which is invariably experienced by new immigrants is minimised by the many people, some of whom will be known on a personal basis, who have already settled in Australia. It appears that South African coloured immigrants maintain contact with each other and have developed a strong sense of community in Australia. Many interviewees pointed out that it has recently become apparent that more and more applications for immigration are being turned down by the Australian authorities. Most of the teachers who have emigrated have taken up non-teaching jobs in Australia. At present, only those applicants who have skills that are in short supply in Australia have been successful in their applications. Therefore, present indications suggest that the chances for emigration have receded considerably.

In follow-up interviews and informal discussions the researcher was able to establish that some individuals who are presently active in teacher organisations and in community life are also considering the option of emigration. Most of these teachers are strongly supportive of organisations such as the ANC, COSATU and the newly formed South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU). Their reasons for emigration are similar to those of the sample reflected in Table VII.

The above findings suggest that for some teachers in the sample, emigration features as an additional strategy to extricate them from teaching as a career. This does not necessarily imply that all these teachers are motivated by grievances related to their work as teachers. It is possible to argue that some may be happy with teaching but are considering emigration because of their perception of the present political situation. However, given their perception of the present political situation, it is very probable that they strongly associate apartheid education with the present political situation. It is unlikely that teachers will emigrate if they feel that they have a lot to lose by leaving their jobs as teachers.

This high incidence of emigration amongst Durban's coloured teachers and the reasons given for wanting to emigrate may suggest that a large number of the respondents, although opposed to the status quo, do not see themselves as political agents within the present political context. This point will be picked up again later in the report.

3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is through the mechanism of automatic salary increases and promotions (or even the hope of promotion) that teachers are provided with a mechanism for upward mobility and self-improvement. Following on Hyslop's (1987b) analysis, one may argue that this mechanism, by providing

an avenue for upward mobility, serves to attract teachers to a professional strategy.

The above discussion shows that the possibility for upward mobility for teachers within the HOR is becoming increasingly limited. Although the respondents do not appear to be opposed to the system of promotions, they appear to be sceptical of the system because they consider promotions to be unfair. Salary increases appear to be the only significant and guaranteed avenue for upward mobility. However, as teachers acquire more qualifications, so too do their aspirations for promotions increase. Since these will not be readily forthcoming, it can be expected that teachers will become increasingly frustrated.

Bursaries are generally very easy to obtain from the HOR as an incentive to teachers to upgrade their qualifications. It therefore serves to dilute the proletarian nature of a teacher's work and creates the impression that, irrespective of their present grievances, teachers (unlike the majority of the working class) can improve their situation through their own effort.

It was pointed out above that although a large proportion of the sample would like to embark on an alternative career, not many will be successful in doing so in the present economic recession. It was also shown that the majority of the respondents who want to embark on a change of career are not necessarily striving towards the high-status professions.

Coinciding with the progressive decline in possibilities for upward mobility through the avenues discussed above, it appears that the effects of proletarianisation of teachers' work is becoming sharper. It would appear that as teachers come to accept that they have limited possibilities for upward mobility, even outside of teaching, they will be propelled towards responding to the source of their dissatisfaction. In the past, the security of tenure served to balance out the negative aspects of their work. It was pointed out above that the respondents are beginning to feel fairly insecure about their jobs at present. This phenomenon will also contribute to the propulsion mentioned above.

It is clear from the findings that there remains very little scope open to the state to placate teacher grievances through the system of patronage. Instead, patronage through the HOR has served to alienate teachers even further from the state because they perceive the allocation of rewards to be unfair.

The content of the dissatisfaction expressed by the respondents, the limits for upward mobility and patronage, and the insecurity of tenure all militate against coloured teachers developing a sense that they have a stake in a separate coloured education department. This point is reinforced by the fact that all (77,8% strongly agreed and 22,4% agreed) of the respondents

indicated that they are in favour of desegregated schooling. All these factors propel teachers away from an ethnic identity as a means of protecting their interests as teachers.

It is very clear from the discussion of the findings above that the majority of the respondents are presently engaged in an individual strategy to cope with their dissatisfaction and to advance their interests. Although it has been pointed out that the mechanisms for upward mobility are progressively declining, it must be emphasised that these mechanisms have not totally collapsed. One can therefore assume that although teachers are becoming increasingly frustrated, they will nevertheless continue to attempt to advance their interests through these mechanisms.

It was noted in the discussion above that the process of proletarianisation is transforming teachers' work to resemble that of the working class. However, it must also be emphasised that this does not mean that teachers' work has been fully proletarianised or that this process of transformation has reached a stage where teachers' work may be considered to be akin to that of the working class. In other words, notwithstanding the process of proletarianisation, the nature of teachers' work process still affords them sufficient autonomy over their work to distinguish them from the working class.

4. POLITICAL ORIENTATION

It is acknowledged that an analysis of the overt political struggles waged against the state is perhaps one of the most effective indicators of the political orientation of a particular social grouping vis-a-vis the major contending forces in the South African social formation. This is clearly not possible in the case of this study, given the relative lack of political struggle by coloured teachers in Durban. Whilst the absence of political struggle (discussed below) is undoubtedly significant, it does not provide a sufficient basis for the interpretation that coloured teachers support the status quo and, hence, support bourgeois domination. If this were the case then it would also be plausible to conclude that the majority of the working class in South Africa, by virtue of its non-engagement in political struggle against the state at certain periods of history, demonstrates an objective alignment with the status quo.

In view of this, the approach in this study is guided by two major questions. The first deals with how the respondents perceive certain aspects of the present political situation in South Africa, the purpose being to identify trends which may clarify the orientation of respondents. The second question deals with the respondents' perception of their political agency.

More specifically, political orientation will be explored by looking at the following:

- What they consider to be the major political problems at the moment.
- What they perceive to be the major causes of these problems.
- Who they think is responsible for these problems.
- What they consider to be the most favourable solutions for a future political system in South Africa.
- Which organisations/social groupings do they think can provide the most favourable solutions for the political problems in South Africa.
- Their perception of their political agency.

4.1 PERCEPTION OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Respondents were asked to list what they consider to be the major political problems in South Africa at present. Those responses were collapsed into common categories reflected in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII[19]:PERCEPTION OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

	RESPONSE	% OF RESPONDENTS
1.	Apartheid	42,9
2.	Political unrest and violence	27,3
3.	Power struggle between political parties	15,6
4.	The education system	15,6
5.	Division amongst blacks	10,4
6.	Segregated and unequal schooling	10,4
7.	Uncertainty about the future	6,5
8.	Lack of progress in the negotiations process	5,2
9.	Weak economy	5,2
10.	Poverty	5,2
11.	Unemployment	5,2
12.	Unequal distribution of wealth	3,9
13.	Separate ministries of education	3,9
14.	No vote/democracy	3,9
15.	Unequal opportunities	2,6
16.	Fear of black majority rule	2,6
17.	Lack of inter-racial trust	2,6
18.	Lack of good leadership	2,6

[19] Findings listed in order of highest to lowest frequencies. Responses which returned a frequency of less than one have been excluded from the table.

It is perhaps significant that there were a total of forty-three individual response categories to this question (if responses which were listed by only one participant are also taken into account). This wide diversity may suggest that the sample lacks a common discourse on the present political situation. It is generally through active organisation and political activism that people develop a common discourse on political issues. The findings therefore appear to confirm the lack of organisation and activism amongst the respondents.

Notwithstanding the above, a close examination of the findings will show that all the responses in Table VIII may be grouped into three emergent categories which point to very definite trends.

The first emergent category includes responses which relate directly to racial discrimination under apartheid. These include the following responses: "apartheid", "the education system", "segregated and unequal schooling", "separate ministries of education", "no vote/democracy", and "unequal opportunities". The composite number of responses in this category, expressed as a percentage of the total responses to the question, is equal to 40,7%. It should be noted that problems related to apartheid education constitute a significant proportion of this category, accounting for 29,9% of the total responses to the question.

The second emergent category is comprised of responses related to economic issues. This includes the following responses: "weak economy", "poverty", and "unemployment and unequal distribution of wealth". The composite number of responses in this category, again expressed as a percentage of the total responses to the question, is equal to 10,1%.

Finally, a third emergent category may consist of issues which derive either directly or indirectly from class contestation and political struggle in the current conjuncture. The responses that fall into this category include the following: "political unrest and violence", "power struggle between political parties", "division amongst blacks", "lack of progress in the negotiating process", "fear of black majority rule", "lack of inter-racial trust", and "lack of good political leadership". Here the composite number of responses, expressed as a percentage of the total responses to the question, is equal to 33,9%.

Although the issues listed in both the second and third emergent categories may be considered to derive either directly or indirectly from apartheid, they have been separated in this discussion for the purpose of examining whether respondents themselves make any distinction between these different aspects of apartheid. The findings appear to suggest that respondents perceive the most important political problems in the country

at the moment as those which relate either directly or indirectly to racial discrimination under apartheid (first emergent category). As teachers, they experience the effects of national oppression in the context of their work, which probably explains why apartheid education featured with such prominence in the responses. This experience serves to mediate the way they function as state employees and militate against accepting a role as the "purveyors of the dominant ideology".[20] Therefore, whilst their location in a state apparatus provides a basis (as state employees) for them to support the status quo, the strong manifestation of national oppression in this state apparatus pushes them away from the state. This serves to confirm the view that the function of teachers is subject to contestation.

Inequalities which manifest at the level of the economy are also considered to be important political problems and, in terms of the percentage of responses, may be ranked as being of third highest importance.

The second category, which is placed second in terms of the percentage of responses, is of particular significance and deserves some comment. It appears that while the respondents want to see an end to apartheid and economic inequality, they also express concern about the present unrest and violence. It is significant that they perceive the present period of intense contestation as a power struggle between political parties and as division amongst blacks. This probably relates to the rapid escalation in political violence in recent years which has been portrayed in the media as "black-on-black" violence between warring factions comprising Inkatha on the one side and the UDF, ANC and COSATU on the other. The immediate impact of this violence appears in some cases to have been translated into a "fear of black majority rule". Therefore, whilst the respondents would clearly want to see an end to national oppression, they appear not to conceive of the present unrest and violence as a means to achieving this end.

4.2 PERCEPTION OF THE CAUSES OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Having isolated trends with respect to the respondents' perceptions of the major political problems in South Africa, attention will now focus on what they consider to be the causes of these problems.

The respondents were asked to select from a list (see Appendix I) those items which they perceive as the causes of political problems in South Africa, the purpose being to ascertain their views on specific aspects of the South African political economy. The findings appear in Table IX.

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[20] As suggested by Harris (1982) and the Ehrenreichs (1979).

TABLE IX: PERCEPTION OF THE CAUSES OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Option	male prim.	male sec.	female prim.	female sec.	% of total respndts.[21]
a) Apartheid	83,3	85,7	93,3	95,5	92,4
b) Unemployment	33,3	85,7	76,7	77,3	72,2
c) Strikes	25,0	21,4	36,7	36,4	31,6
d) Unrest	33,3	50,0	46,7	63,6	50,6
e) Poor living conditions	58,3	85,7	76,7	86,4	79,7
f) Lack of civilised norms	66,7	50,0	60,0	27,3	49,4
g) Ill-discipl. youth	66,7	42,9	56,7	31,8	48,1
h) Sanctions	25,0	28,6	46,7	40,9	40,5
i) Armed struggle	33,3	21,4	36,7	36,4	32,9
j) Exploitation of working people	66,7	42,9	46,7	77,3	58,2
k) Communist influence	41,7	14,3	40,0	22,7	30,4

It may be deduced from Table IX that the majority of respondents perceived the following options as major causes of political problems: "apartheid" by 92,4%; "poor living conditions" by 79,7%; and "unemployment" by 72,2%. With the following options, the respondents appear to be almost equally divided: 58,2% of respondents considered "exploitation of working people" to be a cause; "unrest" by about half (50,6%); "lack of civilised norms" by 49,4%; and "ill-disciplined youth" by about 48,1%. It may be concluded that the majority of respondents did not consider the following options to be causes of the political problems in South Africa: 59,5% did not tick "sanctions" as a cause; 67,1% did not tick "armed struggle"; 68,4% did not tick "strikes"; and 69,6% did not tick "communist influence".

The above findings suggest that issues related to national oppression and conditions in the economy are considered by the overwhelming majority of respondents to be causes of the present political problems in South Africa. Although issues related to the political struggle in the current conjuncture, discussed under "Perception of major political problems in South Africa" above, returned the second highest composite frequencies, it is significant that only about half the respondents considered options such as "unrest";

[21] The options given in this question were not mutually exclusive. These percentages, therefore, only reflect the number of respondents who ticked the particular option and cannot be used as a comparison with any of the other options. (The same applies to the findings reflected in the following tables: VIII, IX and X).

"ill-disciplined youth" and "lack of civilised norms", to be causes of the political problems at present. It is particularly significant, especially within the context of their perception of the violence and unrest, that a large proportion of the sample did not consider radical strategies, such as sanctions, the armed struggle and strikes, to be the causes of political problems. To this extent, they may be seeing these strategies as being positive contributions towards the elimination of apartheid and national oppression. It is possible that the intensification of what is perceived by them as "black on black violence" and a "power struggle" between warring black political groupings, may result in a distancing away from the liberation movement. It needs to be stressed that this distancing away is not necessarily a result of ideological differences with the liberation movement, but rather is a consequence of the fact that their perception of the violence and unrest is strongly mediated by ruling class propaganda. Therefore, as far as their interpretation of the unrest and violence is concerned, the orientation of respondents can be seen to be a highly contestable terrain, subject to a wide range of factors operating in the current conjuncture.

4.3 PERCEPTION OF WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT POLITICAL PROBLEMS

In an attempt to ascertain (more directly) the orientation of respondents to specific organisations and social groupings in the South African political economy, respondents were asked to indicate (from a given list) whom they considered to be responsible for the present political problems in South Africa.

TABLE X: PERCEPTION OF WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Option	male prim.	male sec.	female prim.	female sec.	% of total respondents
a) SACP	41,70	12,50	32,00	25,00	29,00
b) Inkatha	33,30	50,00	52,00	56,20	48,40
c) UDF	25,00	12,50	32,00	18,80	24,20
d) African youth	25,00	12,50	32,00	18,80	24,20
e) COSATU	33,30	0,00	32,00	25,00	25,80
f) Army	16,70	25,00	36,00	43,80	32,30
g) Nat. government	58,30	62,50	68,00	75,00	67,70
h) Right wing	75,00	50,00	68,00	68,80	66,10
i) ANC	58,30	25,00	56,00	25,00	43,50
j) Foreign countries	8,30	12,50	20,00	6,30	14,50
k) Big business	0.00	12,50	8,00	31,25	13,00
l) Police	33,30	37,50	48,00	62,50	48,40

A large majority of the sample considered the Nationalist Party government (67,7%) and the right wing (66,1%) to be responsible for the present political problems. It is interesting, in view of the claimed conspiracy between Inkatha and the South African Police (SAP) (Mare and Hamilton, 1987; Mzala, 1988), that both were selected by exactly the same number (48,4%) of respondents. A fairly large number of respondents (43,5%) also perceived the ANC to be responsible for political problems. Therefore, whilst the majority of respondents appear to be unequivocally opposed to the Nationalist Party state and white domination, they also appear to see both Inkatha and the ANC, albeit by a significantly smaller number, as responsible for political problems. It should be noted that political violence was initially portrayed by the commercial and state media as a struggle between Inkatha on the one side and the UDF and COSATU on the other. It was only after the unbanning of the ANC that the commercial media shifted the focus from the UDF/COSATU to the ANC, hence creating the impression that the ANC has contributed to the escalation of violence.

Commentators such as Mare and Hamilton (1987) and Mzala (1988) have argued that it is, in fact, the state which is responsible for the violence. By creating the conditions for increased violence, the state hopes to engender the view that different fractions in the African constituency have resorted to violence as the attainment of political power becomes more of a reality. The findings suggest that the respondents may have fallen prey to this interpretation of the violence. The present political violence simultaneously serves two purposes. Firstly, it creates the impression, particularly to non-African minorities, that African people are extremely divided and lack the political maturity to take political power. Secondly, it serves to incapacitate the liberation movement and dissipate its energy away from direct contestation with the state.

It is interesting that the respondents perceive the SAP and the SADF differently in terms of their role in contributing to political problems. This is probably because the commercial media has recently begun to publish detailed accounts of SAP complicity in fueling the violence and of atrocities committed through its covert operations against the liberation movement.

It is of interest that 74,2% of respondents do not view COSATU as being responsible for political problems. A negative orientation towards COSATU may be translated into a negative orientation towards a progressive union strategy for teacher organisation or towards an alliance between teachers and workers in progressive unions. This obviously does not imply that the findings provide a sufficient basis to suggest that the respondents are favourably disposed towards COSATU or to a progressive union strategy; however, it does appear that respondents do not have any negative perceptions of COSATU which could obstruct positive relationships

between coloured teachers and the trade union movement.

4.4 PERCEPTION OF WHO CAN PROVIDE THE MOST FAVOURABLE SOLUTIONS

Having looked at respondents' perception of who is responsible for political problems, attention will now focus on how they perceive the same organisations and groupings in terms of their capacity to provide favourable solutions to the political problems in South Africa. The findings are reflected in Table XI.

TABLE XI: PERCEPTION OF WHO CAN PROVIDE THE MOST FAVOURABLE SOLUTIONS

Option	male prim.	male sec.	female prim.	female sec.	% of total respondents
a) SACP	0,0	14,3	9,5	21,4	9,7
b) Inkatha	63,6	42,9	23,8	28,6	32,0
c) UDF	18,2	14,3	9,5	21,4	15,0
d) African youth	0,0	0,0	9,5	7,1	5,7
e) COSATU	9,1	28,6	14,3	35,7	20,8
f) Army	18,2	0,0	14,3	7,1	11,3
g) Nat. government	81,8	71,4	61,9	57,1	69,8
h) Right wing	9,1	0,0	4,8	0,0	3,8
i) ANC	90,1	71,4	61,9	71,4	73,6
j) Foreign countries	18,2	14,3	33,3	42,9	34,0
k) Big business	36,4	14,3	14,3	42,9	28,3
l) Police	18,2	0,0	19,0	7,1	13,2

Two organisations were selected with much higher frequencies than any of the others: the majority of respondents (73,6%) selected the ANC as the organisation that can provide the most favourable solutions. Significantly, almost an equal number (69,8%) selected the Nationalist government - this notwithstanding the strong opposition to apartheid expressed in the findings which were discussed above. It can be deduced from the above figures that a minimum of 43,4%[22] of the respondents consider both the ANC and the Nationalist government as organisations capable of providing the most favourable solutions to political problems.

[22] Calculated as follows: the total percentage of those who selected the NP government (69,8%), minus the percentage of those who did not select the ANC (26,4%), equals the minimum percentage of those who selected both the NP government and the ANC (43,4%).

This finding in particular deserves some comment because it may appear to contradict conventional wisdom which would suggest that the Nationalist government and the ANC exert opposing pulls on coloured teachers. One possible interpretation of this phenomenon is that respondents have separated the Nationalist government from apartheid policies, probably as a result of its reformist rhetoric under the new leadership of F.W. de Klerk. However, the rest of the findings in this study - the strong opposition to apartheid and national oppression and the lack of any other evidence in the findings that indicate support for the Nationalist Party - makes this interpretation highly implausible. It is more probable that respondents did not select an organisation on the basis of their support for its policies vis-a-vis their own interests, but rather on the basis of which organisation is most capable of bringing about peace and order in this climate of unrest and violence. The strong support for the Nationalist Party may also derive from a view that, as the present government, it should naturally be responsible for solving the present problems. This view, if applicable, demonstrates a tendency for respondents to see "someone else", rather than themselves, performing the task of resolving the present political problems. One probable consequence of protracted political violence is that it tends to overshadow concerns about political policies and long-term interests; instead, people tend to become preoccupied with wanting to see the quickest solution to the violence. Furthermore, by casting the conflict within an ethnic mould, the dominant ideology serves to nurture a tendency to seek recourse from the conflict within an ethnic identity.

It is perhaps important that a large number of respondents felt that foreign countries and big business could provide favourable solutions to the present problems. This is probably because of the role that the major powers increasingly appear to be playing as "honest brokers" in attempts to resolve regional and international political conflict. The findings suggest that many respondents have little confidence in the capacity of internal political organisations to resole the present conflict. Local big business has appeared, to a large extent, to be aloof of political conflict - its only public interventions are presented as reasonable pleas for change and intermittent calls for political stability, peace and prosperity within a non-racial free enterprise economic system. The apparent popularity of foreign countries and big business, as expressed in the findings, serves as further confirmation of the view that respondents have made their selections on the basis of the capacity to bring peace and stability, rather than on the basis of political policy.

4.5 ATTITUDES TOWARDS A FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Respondents were asked to select from a given list of options those policies most appropriate for a future political system in South Africa. The findings appear in Table XII.

TABLE XII: ATTITUDES TOWARDS A FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN S.A.

Option	male		female		% of total respondents
	prim.	sec.	prim.	sec.	
a) One-person-one-vote	30,7	61,5	79,3	55,0	62,7
b) Apartheid	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,0	1,3
c) Vote only to people with min. edn. level	53,8	23,1	38,5	20,0	26,7
d) Socialism	7,7	7,7	10,3	15,0	10,7
e) Capitalism	46,2	7,7	6,9	15,0	16,0
f) Free enterprise	76,9	69,2	62,1	65,0	66,7
g) Minority rights	30,8	53,8	37,9	40,0	41,3
h) Affirmative action for blacks	3,5	13,3	27,6	20,0	25,3
i) Nationalisation	0,0	0,0	13,8	10,0	8,0
j) Right to strike	0,0	30,8	13,8	45,0	22,7
k) Peaceful protest	76,9	84,6	79,3	85,0	82,7

As can be seen from the table, only a tiny minority of the respondents indicated support for apartheid. Just over one-quarter (26,7%) of the respondents showed support for a type of qualified franchise which limited the right to vote to people with a certain level of education. About one-quarter (25,3%) also indicated support for a policy of affirmative action for black people. It is significant that a fairly high number of respondents (41,3%) supported a policy for the protection of minority rights. Whilst the findings clearly suggest strong support for the elimination of apartheid, the perception of the unrest and violence in the current period appears to have generated an emphasis on personal security as embodied in the support for a qualified franchise and the protection of minority rights. This orientation may be ascribed to just over one in every three respondents. Since it is not clear how 'minority' has been defined in this context, it does not necessarily follow from the above findings that the respondents are holding on to an ethnic identity.

A relatively small number of respondents indicated support for socialism (10,7%) and nationalisation (8%). This low support for what were widely seen as ANC policies at the time of this study, stands in sharp contrast to the high support for the ANC discussed in the previous section. This suggests that respondents supported the ANC, but at the same time did not support some of the organisation's significant policies. In contrast to the

views on socialism and nationalisation, a significantly large number - one out of every three (66,7%) - indicated that they would favour a free enterprise system for a future South Africa. One obviously needs to exercise caution in interpreting these findings, since the frequencies obtained cannot be taken at face value. The strong support for free enterprise does not correspond to the relatively small number, only 16%, who indicated support for capitalism. This apparent anomaly may be reflecting a general lack of understanding of the nature and implications of the different economic policies in question. It may also mean that respondents do not view a free enterprise system as being a specific form of "capitalism" - which raises the possibility that "free enterprise" may be viewed as a type of welfare state capitalism - distinct from their experience of "capitalism" under apartheid. Having said this, one cannot discount the possibility that respondents may have to some degree internalised the discourse of radical organisations in which "capitalism", as opposed to "free enterprise", has been the object of attack even though this was not strongly manifested in the commercial media. A further explanation of the apparent anomaly could also be related to the manner in which the "free enterprise" system has been presented in the commercial media. This may contribute to the perception that it is a system best capable of ameliorating the problems of "capitalism" in South Africa.

The attitudes expressed towards socialism, nationalism and capitalism should be viewed within the context of the present political climate. Coloured people in Durban, given the relative absence of political organisation and activity, are fairly removed from ideological contestation with the ruling classes. Their major source of information is the media controlled by the state or monopoly capitalism which conditions and shapes their perceptions of these concepts. The media has recently expressed vitriolic condemnation of both apartheid and radical economic policies. The onslaught against socialism has been fueled by events in Eastern Europe and the propaganda of international imperialism. In view of this, the low support for capitalism is particularly significant, given the fact that it has not been subjected to any serious attacks in the media.

Whilst a very large number of the respondents (82,7%) indicated support for the right to engage in peaceful protest, only 22,7% indicated support for the right to strike. This may suggest that the majority of the respondents do not entertain the possibility of embracing the strategy of strikes in dealing with teacher grievances. It also appears that the respondents may not consider "strikes" to be a means of peaceful protest. There is a strong correlation between these findings and some of the findings discussed above - the emergence of a consistent trend which suggests that most respondents show a definite opposition to the status quo, but at the same time also express opposition to forms of resistance which have led to unrest and violence.

4.6 POLITICAL AGENCY

The overwhelming majority of the respondents (80,2%) felt that teachers have a role to play outside of the classroom in trying to bring about political change in South Africa. A further 12,3% were uncertain and only 4,9% believed that teachers have no role to play in this regard. However, the majority of respondents (66,2%) also believed that coloured teachers do not have sufficient opportunities to play this role in the present political conjuncture. It needs to be noted that the findings show no significant difference between male and female respondents and between primary and secondary school teachers in the sample. These findings suggest that the respondents do not perceive of themselves as political agents in the present conflict. The overview of the Durban coloured community, presented in Section I, contains two factors which may be responsible for this perception: firstly, the relative absence of a history of mass resistance to apartheid and of the participation of coloured teachers in mass-based political organisation means that the majority of coloured teachers have had little exposure to resistance struggles in South Africa. Secondly, and as a consequence of the first factor, the majority of teachers' experience of the unrest and violence is mediated, primarily, through the mass media's presentation of the unrest as senseless black-on-black violence.

It can, therefore, be argued that the sample's political orientation is strongly mediated by factors in the present political conjuncture which, in the present period, is overdetermined by their interpretation of the current unrest and violence. In addition, and as consequence, the majority of respondents do not consider themselves to have adequate opportunities to play a role as political agents. In view of this, for a large number of respondents, their long-term interests have been relegated to a secondary position in favour of an immediate interest in peace and stability.

Although there have recently been strong indications that an end to apartheid is in sight, only about half the respondents felt that the political future looks optimistic, with 4,9% strongly agreeing and 43,2% agreeing. Of the remainder, 6,2% strongly disagreed; 22,2% disagreed; and 21% were uncertain. Here again, the findings show no significant difference between male and female respondents and between primary and secondary teachers in the sample. In this regard, it would appear that there are two major processes at play in determining the perception of the respondents: one that suggests that the future looks better because apartheid will be eliminated; and another which suggests that the future looks worse because of the unrest and violence. As a consequence of these contradictory processes, a large percentage of the respondents have focused on a capacity to bring about peace rather than on a capacity to bring about what they may consider to be desirable social reform.

4.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

One may argue that the most significant trend to emerge from the above findings relates to how the respondents perceive their role and capacity as political agents. It would appear that this perception impacts strongly on their political orientation and is certainly a major determinant of their strategic orientation in the current conjuncture. Although there may be many reasons why the respondents do not consider themselves to be in a position to play out a role as political agents in South Africa, two in particular have a strong manifestation in this study. Firstly, the effects of national oppression and their exclusion from state political institutions coupled with a relative lack of strong mass political organisation may have contributed to a sense of political disempowerment. It should be noted that although the respondents felt that they do not enjoy adequate opportunities to play a political role, the majority felt that teachers do have a political role outside of the classroom.

The second reason relates to concern with regard to the current violence and unrest in the country. The respondents appear to consider the major political actors at the time of the interviews (the Nationalist government, the ANC and Inkatha) to be responsible for the present violence. Therefore, whilst they are inclined to support the liberation movement in its programme against national oppression, they appear to be simultaneously alienated from it because of how they perceive the present violence and unrest and the apparent role of the liberation movement within this. However, it should be noted that the respondents did not indicate any strong opposition to the armed struggle and sanctions, which suggests that they are not necessarily opposed to all forms of radical strategy.

It is also significant that the respondents' perceptions of the present violence and unrest appear to be mediated by state and ruling class propaganda, with very little exposure to propaganda from the liberation movement.

There appears to be a strong feeling amongst the respondents that "someone else" will take care of the process of political change. Their concern therefore converges on which organisation or social grouping is in a position to bring about an end to the violence and potential disruption to themselves. It is possible, arising from their perception of their role as political agents, that the respondents will embark on individual strategies to improve their living conditions and to cope with social upheaval. This probably explains the popularity of the free enterprise system which may be viewed as the system of "equal opportunities for all" which the liberal press claims is possible to achieve by the simple elimination of statutory apartheid. Their continued support for this option will depend on the extent to which they are presented with opportunities (which are fairly limited at

present) to expedite their individual strategies. The inevitable continuation of structural apartheid, after the elimination of statutory apartheid, will serve to frustrate such individual strategies. If the present economic recession continues, the ensuing shortage of jobs will serve to further militate against the success of individual strategies. The relative lack of support for socialism and capitalism does beg the question of whether respondents would be in favour of a kind of "welfare capitalism" and/or a "dual economy".

A strong tendency of opposition to the present state is manifested in the findings. It also appears that the respondents will be opposed to any other political organisation that has not demonstrated a definite orientation away from national oppression and exploitation. Notwithstanding the strong support for the free enterprise system, there is no other evidence to suggest that the respondents have been coopted by capital. Instead, the coloured middle class have for a long time experienced a frustration of their aspirations because of the lack of incorporation into the economy.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This section adds to and integrates the conclusions drawn thus far.

It is clear from the findings that while a large number of the respondents expressed satisfaction with aspects of their work, there is also a growing dissatisfaction with certain other aspects. This dissatisfaction is important because of its link to a process that appears to be eroding teacher autonomy over their work, bringing their experience closer to that of the working class. It was also emphasised that notwithstanding this process of erosion, teachers' work conditions cannot be considered to be fully proletarianised.

The size of the teacher corps relative to the rest of the middle class in the coloured community in the Greater Durban Area, suggests that teachers constitute a strategically important sector. If the state (or any other social fraction) wishes to co-opt the coloured middle class, it will inevitably have to focus on the co-option of teachers. The most powerful avenue open to the state is to use its control over education to co-opt teachers through the system of patronage.

It is also important that the findings show a discernible link between the respondents' perception of their dissatisfaction and their attitudes towards the education department. The relationship between teachers and the department appears to be a conflictual one and cannot be described as one of "'trust".[23] It also raises the possibility that teachers will not operate as passive purveyors of

[23] Which is one of the criteria used by Hyslop (1987b) to define the class position of teachers.

bourgeoisie ideology and that the way they actually function is subject to contestation. These observations raise serious doubts about the way notions of trust (Hyslop, 1987b) and function (Ehrenreichs, 1979; and Carchedi, 1980) have been used to define the class location of teachers.

The findings also clearly suggest that coloured teachers are presently engaged in individual strategies to acquire upward mobility. Present indications suggest that teachers will increasingly become frustrated as the options for upward mobility, in line with the strategies that they are presently engaged in, become more and more limited. It is, therefore, very probable that teachers will respond more directly to the source of their grievances which may take the form of a combination of a professional strategy and a popular radical strategy. It needs to be stressed that a professional strategy in the present context will not necessarily draw teachers away from the popular working class-based organisations. Much will depend on the content and politics of such a strategy.

The precise form of teachers' responses in the future will be strongly contingent upon conditions in the education and political contexts. The strategies which individual teachers finally adopt to deal with their situations are not only an outcome of their experience of the work process, but are also influenced by the strategies employed by teacher organisations.

The formation of a single education department will create a new set of conditions which will certainly influence the orientation of coloured teachers. Based on the findings of this study, most coloured teachers are probably viewing the impending reforms towards a single department with mixed feelings. Whilst the majority will most likely welcome the ensuing elimination of apartheid education and the possibility of widening prospects for upward mobility, they may also be concerned that what they perceive to be the extremely negative conditions of African schooling at present, could become the norm of the new education system within which they will have to work.

A central conclusion of this study is that coloured teachers are subjected to a number of processes which simultaneously exert contradictory pulls on them in relation to contending political forces. The petty bourgeois nature of their work affords them the opportunity to seek upward mobility through strategies aimed at securing better conditions of employment and rewards in the private sector. However, the extent to which these aspirations are satisfied will influence their orientation to capital. Their exclusion from key economic institutions and better-paid positions in the economy, structural apartheid, the effects of unemployment, and their interconnectedness with the working class all militate against a strong alignment with capital. The fact that monopoly capital in South Africa is essentially white also serves as an alienating factor.

Notwithstanding their strong opposition to apartheid, there are important factors which exert a pull on coloured teachers towards the present state. The respondents'

perception of their political agency and of political change results in a tendency for them to support the present state, albeit only because they consider it the role of the present government to resolve the present violent conflict. This tendency is probably reinforced by the government's present reform stance. Another factor relates to the fact that they are state employees. The state is still in a position to use the dual mechanism of patronage and victimisation to secure teacher acquiescence. However, given the limitations of patronage at present, the state will have to increasingly resort to the mechanism of victimisation. The present atmosphere of reform severely limits the extent to which the state can resort to this mechanism.

The above analysis converges on the following key points. Firstly, coloured teachers' perceptions of their political agency, and particularly the opportunities available to them to participate in social change, will influence how they relate to the liberation movement. Secondly, their perception of the violence and unrest, which is strongly mediated by ruling class propaganda, needs to be contested by the liberation movement. Thirdly, given their petty bourgeois location, they have access to mechanisms to allow them to pursue individual strategies to address their political interests at the moment. However, none of these mechanisms derive from ethnic structures of patronage or from ethnic privileges. This suggests that coloured teachers have little to gain from an ethnic identity and will probably not pursue this as a strategy to address their interests. One factor that may encourage an ethnic identity is their apparent fear of the violence and unrest in African townships.

More concretely, the future political orientation of coloured teachers in the current conjuncture is heavily dependent on the extent to which the liberation movement manages to counter ruling class propaganda and the extent to which they are exposed to, and have an opportunity to participate in, strong teacher and political organisation.

It is perhaps appropriate to make some comment on the theoretical issues raised in this study. A description of teachers as part of the 'new petty bourgeoisie' appears to satisfactorily explain the political orientation of coloured teachers. A consistent trend that has emerged in the study is that the political attitudes and aspirations of coloured teachers in the present period is heavily influenced by conjunctural factors. This phenomenon confirms the importance of a conjunctural analysis in explaining the political and strategic orientation of teachers. It was also shown that the national question plays a major role in determining this political and strategic orientation in the present conjuncture. It is, therefore, most appropriate to conceptualise coloured teachers as part of the black middle class. Stated differently, coloured teachers are part of the 'new petty bourgeoisie' but are subject to processes of proletarianisation. Whilst class is important in determining the political behaviour of teachers, the specific relationship between race and class in the current conjuncture results in a situation where political behaviour is also strongly mediated by national oppression.

It is, therefore, politically dangerous and methodologically unsound to theorise the class location and, consequently, the political behaviour, of teachers in a narrow economistic manner. An economistic approach (in the main) tries to reduce complex phenomena to one over-riding causal principle in assessing the strategic orientation of teachers - defined at the level of the means of production. A failure to theoretically grasp all those factors which impact on teachers' orientations in the different historical conjunctures could result in the abandonment of potential allies of the working class to the ruling classes.

Although there are a number of processes at play which exert contradictory pulls on coloured teachers, this study shows that there is an objective basis for coloured teachers to be drawn into an alliance geared towards the establishment of a national democracy in South Africa. It can, therefore, be concluded that the political orientation of coloured teachers is highly contestable in the current conjuncture.

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APPENDIX I

SURVEY OF TEACHERS IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA.

Where empty boxes are provided please indicate your answer with an "X" in the box. If the answer is provided in the box, then mark a very large "X" across the box containing your answer.

FOR COMPUTER USE ONLY

A. PERSONAL DATA:

1. Sex: male [ ] female [ ] [1.]

2. Marital status: married [ ] single [ ] divorced/separated [ ] [2.]

3. Spouse's occupation: _____ [3.]

4. How many children do you have?: _____ [4.]

5. Which of the following applies to your present accommodation?:
ownership [ ] rented [ ] live with relatives [ ] [5.]

6. Are you presently drawing on a housing subsidy?
Yes [ ] No [ ] [6.]

B. EMPLOYMENT DATA:

1. Teaching experience (in years): _____ years. [7.]

2. What std/s are you presently teaching?: _____ [8.] [9.] [10.]

3. How many pupils do you teach
a) in your biggest class?: _____ [11.]
b) in your smallest class?: _____ [12.]
c) on average per class?: _____ [13.]

4. Is your appointment: permanent [ ] or temporary [ ] [14.]

[15.]

5. Position in school (not your acting position):

Principal	[ ]	Deputy Principal	[ ]
HOD	[ ]	Senior HOD	[ ]
Teacher (post level 1)	[ ]		

C. EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS:

1. Highest standard passed at school: std._____

2. Tertiary education:

name of degree/ diploma	obtained at which institution (eg. Bechet col.)	did you study full/part time time

3. Your basic formal teacher training has prepared you adequately for your work as a teacher?

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know

4. If you have engaged in further study beyond your basic formal teacher training, has this improved your teaching?

No further study [ ] Uncertain [ ]
Definite improvement [ ] No improvement [ ]

5. Do you intend upgrading your qualifications?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Uncertain [ ]

6. If yes, why do you want to upgrade your qualifications?

_____

_____

7. Have you ever participated in any in-service training?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

8. If yes, who arranged for the training?

_____

D. SATISFACTION WITH TEACHING:

1. In general, my work as a teacher is satisfying

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know

2. Which three aspects of your work do you find most satisfying? (list in order of priority)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

3. Which three aspects of your work do you find most dissatisfying? (list in order of priority).

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

4. What motivated you to become a teacher?

_____
_____
_____
_____

5. Your job as a teacher is very secure

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know

6. You have a high level of expertise in your area of specialization (in terms of your formal training).

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know

7. People with your level of expertise are in short supply.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know

8. How would you describe the morale amongst teachers employed by the House of Representatives at present?

very high	moderately high	very low	moderately low	don't know

9. The house of Representatives has had a positive impact on education under its control.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know

10. List three positive changes that have resulted from the transfer of education to the House of Representatives.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

11. List three negative changes that have resulted from the transfer of education to the House of Representatives.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

12. How satisfied are you with the following aspects of your work?

	FULLY SATISFIED	MOSTLY SATISFIED BUT NOT FULLY	MODERATELY SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	MOSTLY DISSATISFIED	
a) Your present workload						46.
b) The quality of your teaching						47.
c) The number of pupils per class						48.
d) Your freedom to explore new ways of teaching						49.
e) The present syllabus						50.
f) The way things are taught						51.
g) Teacher salaries						52.
h) Pupil discipline						53.
i) Motivation of pupils						54.
j) Pupils' academic performance						55.
k) The way teachers are viewed by the community						56.
l) The amount of paper work (records, forecasts, etc.)						57.
m) Hours of work						58. 59.
n) Facilities in your school						60. 61.
o) Cooperation of parents						62. 63.
p) Inspection						
q) Advice from subject advisers						
r) Working with pupils						
s) Relations with the principal						

E.CAREER:

1. If you had the opportunity to change your job would you do so?

   Yes [ ] No [ ] Uncertain [ ]

2. If yes, what job would you most prefer to do?

_____

3. Are you thinking of emigrating to another country?

   Yes [ ] No [ ] Uncertain [ ]

4. If yes, why are you thinking of emigrating?

_____

5. How many teachers from your school have emigrated?

_____

6. To which country?

_____

7. Are you keen to receive a promotion?

   Yes [ ] No [ ] Uncertain [ ]

8. Your chances of receiving a promotion are good.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know

9. The allocation of promotions at present is very fair.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know

10. What in your opinion will improve the image of teachers in the community?

_____

_____

11. Please rank the different occupations listed below in terms of the prestige accorded to each
a) by members in the community.
b) by yourself.
Give each one a number between 1 - 11 (eg. If you think builders enjoy the third highest prestige then enter a "3" in the block next to builder. If you think that any two or more positions are viewed as having equal status then give each of them the same number):

	a) community	b) yourself
Shop assistant		
Artisan (eg.welder)		
Doctor		
Teacher		
Engineers		
Priests		
Shop owner		
Builder		
College lecturer		
Nurse		
Private school teacher		

12.	17.
13.	18.
14.	19.
15.	20.
16.	21.

12. In what rank order is the status of the following positions viewed
    a) by teachers in general?
    b) by yourself?
    (If you think that any two or more positions are viewed as having equal status then give each of them the same number):

	a)By teachers	(b)By you.
Principal		
Senior Secondary teacher		
Junior primary teacher		
Head of department		
Deputy principal		
Senior Primary teacher		
Junior Secondary teacher		
Senior Head of Department		

62.	66.
63.	67.
64.	68.
65.	69.

F.ROLE OF TEACHERS:

1. To be a good teacher do you think that one should

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NOT SURE
a) get actively involved in campaigns for political justice.					
b) organize sporting activities					
c) get involved in community issues					
d) impart skills					
e) obtain high pass rates					
f) keep up to date with paper work					
g) maintain pupil discipline					
h) provide moral guidance to pupils					
i) teach pupils to think critically					
j) raise pupil's awareness of the injustices in society					
k) help pupils to fit into the business world					
l) encourage non-racist attitudes					
m) discourage student protest					
n) encourage pupils to appreciate their future employers					
o) get pupils to work hard					
p) get involved in teacher organization					
q) constantly try to improve one's teaching					
r) satisfy the requirements of the inspector					
s) try to make education relevant to the wider society					
t) try to ensure that pupils grow up to be good Christians					

90.	91.
92.	93.
94.	95.
96.	97.
98.	99.
100.	101.
102.	103.
104.	105.
106.	107.
108.	109.

2. List three items from the list above which, in your opinion, the department considers to be most important in relation to the role of the teacher. (Write down only the relevant letter).

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

110.
111.
112.

G. EDUCATION CONTEXT:

1. How does the education controlled by the House of Representatives (HOR) compare with education received by pupils in the other education departments?

	Better than HOR	Almost equal to HOR	Worse than HOR
a) Indians			
b) Africans			
c) whites			

113.
114.
115.

2. Which of the following education departments do you believe have severe shortcomings?

	Yes	No	Uncertain
a) Indian			
b) African			
c) white			
d) "coloured"			

116.
117.
118.
119.

3. If you answered yes to (b) or (d) above, what do you think are the major causes of the shortcomings in these departments?

i) African: _____

_____

_____

ii) "Coloured": _____

_____

_____

4. Which of the following do you feel must be introduced to improve education in South Africa?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	UNCERTAIN	
a) make education more responsive to the needs of the majority in S.A.						120. 121.
b) make education more responsive to the needs of big business						122. 123.
c) allow pupils to form student representative councils						124. 125.
d) open all schools to all races						
e) privatise education						
f) overcome poverty						126. 127.
g) give parents greater decision-making powers						
h) continue with racially separate departments but have equal education						128.
i) clamp down on student unrest.						

H. TEACHER ORGANIZATION:

1. Do you belong to a teacher organization at the moment?
   Yes [ ] No [ ]

129.

2. If no, why have you not become a member?

_____

_____

3. If yes,
   a) which organization/s do you belong to?

_____

   b) have you benefited in any way by being a member?

   Yes [ ] No [ ] Uncertain [ ]

130.

4. Which of the following is essential for a teacher organization to be involved in?

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	UNCERTAIN	
a) fight for better salaries						131.
b) get teachers involved in political issues						132.
c) help teachers to improve their teaching						133.
d) protect teachers from undue interference from the department						134.
e) improve the professional status of teachers						135.
f) work toward improving the whole education system						136.

QUESTION 4. CONTINUED	S.A.	A.	S.D.	D.	U.
g) fight for better conditions of service					
h) organize teachers to improve their bargaining power					
i) challenge the authorities when necessary					

137.

138.

139.

140.

5. Are you aware of the new teacher organization, the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), formed recently?

very aware | moderately aware | unaware

141.

6. Do you support this organization?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Uncertain [ ]

I. POLITICAL:

1. What do you consider to be the major political problems at the moment?

_____

_____

_____

2. What in your opinion is/are the cause/s of these problems?:

a) apartheid [ ]
b) unemployment [ ]
c) strikes [ ]
d) unrest [ ]
e) poor living conditions [ ]
f) lack of civilised norms [ ]
g) ill-disciplined youth [ ]
h) sanctions [ ]
i) armed struggle [ ]
j) exploitation of working people [ ]
k) communist influence [ ]
l) other (please list) _____

3. Who, in your opinion, is responsible for the problems at the moment?

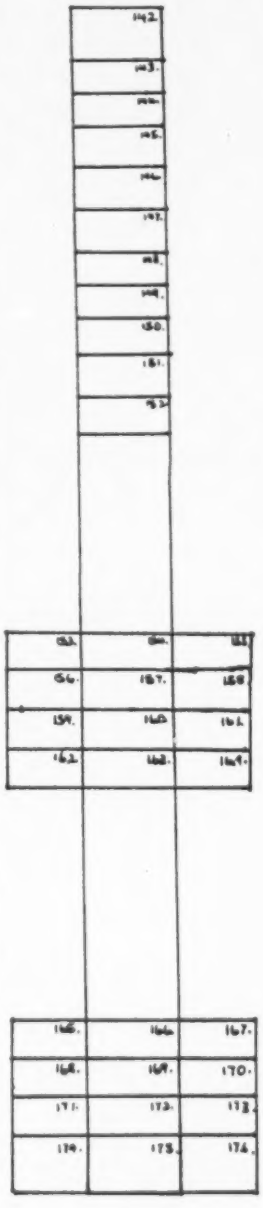
S.A.Communist Party	[ ]	Inkatha	[ ]	UDF	[ ]
African youth	[ ]	COSATU	[ ]	Army	[ ]
Nationalist govt.	[ ]	Right wing	[ ]	ANC	[ ]
Foreign countries	[ ]	Big business	[ ]	Police	[ ]

other (please list)_____

4. Which of the following organizations do you think can provide the most favourable solutions to the political problems in S.A.?

S.A.Communist Party	[ ]	Inkatha	[ ]	UDF	[ ]
African youth	[ ]	COSATU	[ ]	Army	[ ]
Nationalist govt.	[ ]	Right wing	[ ]	ANC	[ ]
Foreign countries	[ ]	Big business	[ ]	Police	[ ]

other (please list)_____



5. Which of the following options would you support for a future political system in S.A.?

a) one-person-one-vote [ ]
b) apartheid [ ]
c) only people who have a certain level of education should be given the vote [ ]
d) socialism [ ]
e) capitalism [ ]
f) free enterprise system [ ]
g) protection of minority rights [ ]
h) affirmative action for black people [ ]
i) nationalization [ ]
j) the right to strike [ ]
k) the right to engage in peaceful protest [ ]

6. Do you think that teachers have a role to play, outside the classroom, in trying to bring about political change in S.A.?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Uncertain [ ]

7. If yes, do you feel that "coloured" teachers presently have sufficient opportunity to play a role in finding solutions to the political problems?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Uncertain [ ]

8. On the whole, the political future in South Africa looks optimistic.

strongly agree	agree	strongly disagree	disagree	don't know

THANK YOU ONCE AGAIN FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Is there anything else you would like to add to the above?

APPENDIX II

SOCIETY OF NATAL TEACHERS

P.O BOX 239
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TELEPHONE: 374674

51 MITRIE HOBBE
110 STANGER STREET
DURBAN
4001

22 November 1989

Our Ref.:

Your Ref.:

Attention: Mr B. Soobrayan
University of Natal
King George V Avenue
DURBAN
4001

Dear Mr Soobrayan

Questionaire - Grievances of Teachers.

Here are some of grievances that were raised by teachers at a recent Branch Meeting of S.O.N.A.T. members.

Teachers found that their lives were too ordered and tailored to suit a particular role by the H.F. Verwoed.
Afrikaans was made compulsory, resulting in a high failure rate. Good teachers shied away from the profession as a result.
Principals made to feel different, elevated position, were given power and improved salaries.
The school committees gave parents awesome power, and parents and professionals became suspicious of each other.
Parents did not hold teachers in high esteem resulted in a soul damaged being. Hence Afrikaans idiom; "so dronk soos 'n kleurling onderwyser". Bureaucratic overload, viz: more files and over-prescription.

All this has resulted in:
* most teachers opting out
* teachers demanding amends
* damage process intensified by shift to own affairs, (House of Representatives)
* teachers shackled by fears
* children not getting a fair deal at school
* the need for teachers organisation to be part of the promotion of teachers, that is, to act as scrutineers
* the need to break away from the neo-colonial structures and become part of a trade union.
* principals fail to answer to problems of teachers, because of administration policy, often give very purile answers.

2/.....

2

The second part of the problems or "grievances" were as follows:

i) The Specialist Problem - specialist were not appointed at primary school level (fundamental level) but at secondary school level.
ii) Workload of H.O.D's - discrepancies in workloads of H.O.D.'s in most schools. In some H.O.D's had three non-teaching periods but in other schools up to twenty non-teaching periods.
iii) Workload of Teachers - Teachers weighed down by clerical work and inspections by H.O.D.'s, Principals, subject advisors and inspectors. This did not include the panel inspections.
iv) Evaluation - Inspectors found to be most negative in their evaluation of teachers. Evaluation could be discussed, but most teachers not made aware of this. The role of the inspector was questioned. Is he a safety check on the evaluation given by the principal?
v) Merit Award System - This was the main grouse. negative attitudes of inspectors/subject advisors added to this evil. In some schools teachers had received 3 awards, but in others some had not even received the first award.
vi) Role of Principals - Teachers saw principals acting as conduits of the Administration.

What Action to take:

Teachers felt that:
1. Principals were not to be part of management, but part of the workers.
2. There was a need for negotiation with the Department not consultation, viz need for Teacher Unions.
3. Teachers to make demands not requests.
4. Teachers could not act without negotiation - (Trade Union Action) as consultation had failed dismally.
5. Teachers were to be inspected in first year, second and third year instead of unnecessary and repetitious inspections which churn out the same reports annually.
6. Inspection reports were farcial as an inspector proves to be totally inadequate to inspect teachers across the curriculum.
7. Need for a healthy teacher morale to ensure the child gets the best out of education.
8. Communication is one-way i.e. top-down. There is a need for two-way communication, between teacher-principal, principal - inspector etc.
9. As principals are removed from the classroom pressures/problems they should be more tolerant in handling frustrated teachers.
10. Teachers who are outspoken and fight their own cases are intimidated by principals who threaten to call in inspectors.
11. Principals are to impliment department policy and are therefore not the most suitable negotiators.
12. Fear has stifled and muzzled the teacher.
13. S.O.N.A.T. has been made ineffective by Department policy and regulations.
14. Principals need to be taught management skills.
15. S.O.N.A.T. needs to employ a full time Organising Secretary, not part of the profession, who can voice problems of teachers without fear of Departmental reg ultions.

3/.....

3

These were grievances raised by both teachers and principals towards the end of the meeting.

* work pressure - too much clerical work, overcrowded classrooms
* supervision - teachers complained of over-inspection
* non-specification of duties - viz. HODs, senior HODs etc.
* lack of professional guidance (primary schools) - no H.O.D.s
* no subject-advisors - at primary school level
* merit assessment - unfair system of awards. Some inspectors would only award merits after two years. This implies that he did not trust the principals/ judgement/assessment of his teachers.
* lack of specialisation in primary schools - this guidance was needed at fundamental/primary level and not just secondary level.
*Inspectors demanded specialist knowledge from teachers not trained or qualified in this field.
* need to alleviate workload of principals in country schools - principal served as a teacher, supervisor, inspector, secretary etc.
* far too many promotion posts eg. H.O.D., Senior H.O.D., subject advisor etc.
* lack of senior staff - stds 8,9,10 in country schools.
* H.O.Ds do not have adequate time to supervise
* teacher - pupil ratio not reasonable
* poor staffing of schools - financial cutbacks - affected teaching and resulted in ineffeciency.
* improper/poor quality of maintenance and repairs to schools.
* political interference in promotion posts - cause of deep frustration among teachers.

I have tried to give you a gist of what was discussed and some of the burning issues. I hope this will be of use to you. I also have a tape-recording of parts of this session which I hope to give to you later.

Yours faithfully

H.V. CLARK
ORGANISING SECRETARY

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